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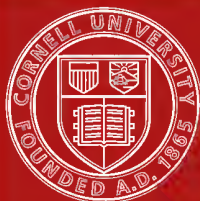
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Ten
Scarce Books
in
English Literature

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Ten
Scarce Books
in
English Literature

Privately Reprinted.

Edinburgh.

Exact and certain
N E W S
From the Siege at
Y O R K E.

And of many remarkable passages of our Armys in those parts, extracted out of diverse Letters which were sent by this last Post from *Hull*, to a Gentleman of *Grayes-Inne*.

As also the taking of *Mulgrave* Castle, and in it Sir *Walter Vavasour*, Sir *Peter Middletons* eldest Sonne, and other Gentlemen of quality.

Together with the Relation of the Scots Second Army, advanced to *Blithenooke* in *Northumberland*, and their taking of *Morpeth* Castle.

With many other remarkable Observations.



London, Printed for *Mathew Walbanke*.
July 3. 1644.

*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50
large-paper copies*



AN
E X T R A C T
OF
Foure severall Letters written from
HULL, and sent by this Post to a
Gentleman of *Grayes-Inne*, by a prudentiall
friend of his, newly returned thither from
the Leaguer before
VORKE.

MY Lord of *Manchesters* Forces are daily in action, straitning the besieged in their quarters ; and battering about *Bowdan-Barre* and the Mannor, and the besieged frequently issuing forth, and skirmishing. *June 24*, there were about 20 taken, and as many slaine on the Kings party, and two or three hurt and slaine on my Lord of *Manchesters*, but this is reported something diversly.

2. The Scots Forces for the most part stirre not, by reason the Enemie sallied not out so oft against their quarters.

3. My Lord *Fairfax* and his quarter is also often in action, about and against *Monck-Barre*.

4. Prince *Ruperts Army*, especially in horse, is reported to be great, and a great part of brave horse and good foot, under the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and Major Generall *Lesley*, are gone forth towards *Rippon* and those parts, to meet and fight with them.

5. I beleeve (so far as I can conjecture) the York-ists are neither quickly nor easily to be conquered, but are resolved to try all extremity in expectation of the comming and ayde of Prince *Rupert* ; God turne all to the good of the Church and Common-wealth.

6. All the great and vast dales in the North-riding of *Yorkeshire*, together with their two strong Castles of *Midlan* and *Bolton*, stand still as formerly, to wit, in a neutrall posture, and to this day would never beare Armes, or pay contributions, notwithstanding all their severall summons, threats, propositions sent unto them.

7. Colonell *Charles Fairfax*, a prudent and valiant Gentleman, hath again reduced most of the Bishopricke of *Durham* to the obedience of the King and Parliament, and are now with about 1200 horse about *Durham* and *Sunderland*.

8. Last night newes came hither, (believed true and certaine) that a new Armie of Scots is come into *Northumberland* to *Blythenooke*, of about ten or twelve thousand, and that they have already taken *Morpeth*-Castle, and that Colonell *Clavering* and the Scottish Lords with him, have rested themselves in *Newcastle*.

9. These seas heere are full of danger and robbrie.



Out of another Letter.

10. Wee hold our siege yet, but are so prepared, that if Prince *Rupert* doe come, we are ready to meet him, we heare much of his advance this way, but no certainty which way he will fall into the Country.

11. *Mulgrave* Castle is taken, Sir *Walter Vavasor*, Sir *Peter Middletons* eldest sonne, and divers others.



Out of another Letter.

12. There is about *Whitby* some Ordnance landed for us, of which Colonell *Bointon* having notice, did prepare Forces to convey them to *Mulgrave* Castle, (now in our hands) and had sent Letters to some Troops in *Holderness* to assist him : which Letters Sir *Hugh Cholmley* intercepting : and understanding thereby the designe, makes his strength, & goes and skirmisheth with our Forces, which a Master of a Ship on our side per-

ceiving, sent a shoare a Drake and 20 Musquetiers which by a mistake came to Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, and so were surprised, but we heard this day that *Whitby* is taken by Colonell *Bointon*, and that Drake, with 40 men and Armes taken, and one *Newton* is left Governour in it.

13. Wee now heare also from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who is about *Rippon* with his Army, that he cannot heare or learne that Prince *Rupert* is approaching any thing nearer *Yorke*, yet they are very cautious, and prepare for him, least that *Whitquarian* steale on them unawares.

14. Our hopes are rather to starve then storme *Yorke*, but our desire is to have it by composition and yeeldance.

15. *Cawood* Castle had like to have beene surprised, by a partie of horse from *Pomfret*, but was prevented by the vigilancie of the Guards, though some prisoners escaped.

1. July 1644.

Imprimatur,
JO. RUSHWORTH.

FINIS.





HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—XI.

The Genealogy
OF THE
Kings of Britain,
FROM BRUTUS TO THE DEATH
OF ALFRED,

Translated from a Norman-French
MS. in the Library of Trinity
College, Cambridge, sup=
posed to be written by
Peter de Fekbam.

~~~~~  
MCCLXXV.  
~~~~~

PRIVATELY PRINTED.
EDINBURGH.

—
1885.

*This edition is limited to 200 small-paper copies,
and 50 large-paper copies.*



THE GENEALOGY

OF THE

KINGS OF BRITAIN.



TWELVE hundred years before the birth of our Lord, Brutus, the son of Silvius, with his wife Ynogen and with his three sons, after the Trojan war came to England, which at that time was like a desert. He built the city of London and called it Trinovant. It was called afterwards New Troy; afterwards Karlud; afterwards Lundin, and now Lundene. At this time Eli was judge of the children of Israel. This Brutus on his death made his eldest son, who was Locrinus, king of England, and called the land Great Britain, after his name.

Locrinus when he was king after his father, caused the land to be called Leogria, after his own name. To his second son, whose name was Camber, he gave the land of Wales, and he caused it to be called Cambria, after his name. To his third son, who was called Albanactus, he gave Scotland, and he caused it to be called Albania, after his name. And at this time king David reigned at Jerusalem.

Eboracus the sixth king after Brutus built York and Dumbarton and Maidens' Castle, and the castle of Montrose. Rudhudibras the son of Eboracus built Canterbury and Winchester and Shaftesbury. There an eagle used to speak.

After that Bladud built Bath. He also made the Hot Baths. Afterwards he made himself wings and flew as far as to London, then called Trinovant, and there he fell so that he broke his neck. After him Lear built Leicester. He had three beautiful daughters. He questioned the eldest daughter and asked her how much she loved him. And she answered, "My lord, my lord, I dare affirm I love you like the God of heaven." Then he questioned the second in like manner, and she said, "As much as a daughter can love a father." Then he questioned the third daughter and asked her, "Fair daughter, how much do you love me?" she answered, "Fair sire, I love thee as I ought to love my father, and assure thyself of

this, as much as thou hast so much thou art worth, and so much I love thee.”*

Then the king Lear was enraged against this daughter, and swore his oath † that he never more would take thought for her. And he gave his two elder daughters in marriage, the one with one half of his kingdom, the other with the other half. And the youngest, for her beauty and her nobleness, was married to a noble king of France. After this the king Lear could not maintain the Court which he held before, and became quite poor; so that he came to his first daughter, making his complaint, but she hid herself from him and made her husband her excuse, that she dared not, and could not do anything for him. Then he came to the second in like manner, and she said, “One ought not to do anything for a man that will not keep anything for his own behoof.” Then was he dismayed exceedingly, and thought of going over to tell his youngest daughter how his two children had answered him. And he crossed the sea, quite poor, and told his state by letter to his daughter, who was queen of France. She immediately

* “Also muche so thou havest: thou art
worth y wis,
And also moche ich lovyg the: the
endinge lo is this.”

Robert of Gloucester.

† “And thou schalt, for thine onkuinde, hede:
beon al out of mi muinde.”—*Id.*

caused gold and silver sufficient to be got ready secretly, and sent word to her father that he should keep strict silence concerning what she wrote to him; and he did so. And soon after the queen informed her lord, the king of France, that her father, the king of England, was arrived in his kingdom to speak with him. And the king of France rejoiced greatly at this, and commanded that all his baronage should come with him to welcome the queen's father, and so they did. Soon after the king Lear, by the advice of the queen, told the king of all, how his two daughters had answered him in England. And the king of France was sorely grieved at it, and by the advice of the queen, his wife, sent a great army forth from France to aid king Lear to conquer his kingdom; and he conquered it, and he banished his two daughters with their husbands for ever, and reigned himself three years afterwards. Upon his death Cordelia, his youngest daughter, obtained the kingdom; and her two nephews, the sons of her sisters, came and made war upon her, and took and kept her in prison. She killed herself for grief.

After this the king Belin, the son of Donewal, from whom Billingsgate is named, made four royal roads through the midst of England. The first he made from Totness to Caithness. The second he made from St. David's across to Southampton,

and the two other roads all round the kingdom. This Belin seized France and Lombardy and Rome.

After him Cassibelaunus was king, who twice expelled Julius Cesar from England; but the third time Cassibelaunus was conquered, and paid tribute to Rome two thousand pounds a year. This was forty-two years before the birth of our Lord.

About this time was our Lord born.

Eighty-two years after our Lord's passion, Telesphorus, the pope, ordained the chanting of *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*.

After this Lucius, the king of the Britons, received Christianity in England from the Pope Eleutherius, and all England became Christian. This Lucius also created two archbishopricks and twenty-three bishopricks: and this was four hundred and forty-six years before Saint Austine. After this Diocletian caused great persecution of Christianity. About this time St. Alban suffered martyrdom.

At this time, king Votigern invited Horsa and Hengist to England. After this, Gormund, the king of Africa, arrived in England, and destroyed nearly the whole of Christianity and all the churches. And then the Britons lost the sover-

eignty of England. After this was England for many years under an interdict.

England was divided among five kings in five parts. One had Kent, another Wessex, the third Mercia, the fourth Northumberland, the fifth had East Anglia.

The king of Kent reigned only in Kent. He had in his territory the Archbishopric of Canterbury and the bishopric of Rochester.

The king of Wessex had Wiltshire, Berkshire, Dorset, Sussex, Southamptonshire, Surrey, Somerset, Devonshire, and Cornwall. He had in his kingdom five sees: the bishopric of Salisbury, which was then at Shirborne; and that of Selsey, which now is at Chichester; and that of Winchester; and that of Bath, which was then at Wells; and that of Exeter, which was then divided into two parts; the one part was at Crediton, the other at Saint Germans in Cornwall.

The king of Mercia had Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire, half of Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire. He had four bishoprics in his dominions, viz., that of Lincoln, of Chester, of Hereford, and of Worcester.

The king of East Anglia had Cambridgeshire,

Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and half of Bedfordshire. He had two bishoprics, that of Ely and that of Norwich.

The king of Northumberland had the whole land beyond the Humber, as far as to Scotland. He had in his territory the archbishopric of York and the bishopric of Durham. And thus was England divided for a long while.

After the arrival of the Angles, the kings very often made war together; very often some robbed others, the stronger robbed the weaker, until the time of Egbert, the son of Ealmund, a very worthy man both towards God and the world, born and bred in Wessex and afterwards in France with king Charles. He was the first king who possessed the whole of England at once. This Egbert began to show himself a good man and a valiant, so that Bryhtric king of Wessex conceived great envy of him. He had a prophetic fear that Egbert would take away his kingdom, and was about to kill him. But Egbert found it out and fled to France. There he acquired courage and courtesy and accomplishment. At that time Charlemagne the Great was king: he reigned forty-six years. There Egbert remained till the death of Bryhtric.

And then the barons of Wessex sent for Egbert, whereupon Egbert came and conquered the whole of England. He dwelt in the country twenty-eight years before he had conquered all, and

reigned afterwards nine years; and died and lies at Winchester.

After Egbert Ethelwolf his son received the kingdom, who was a good man before God and not very mighty in regard to the world. He therefore retained only Wessex. There was a noble man king of Mercia; to whom he gave his daughter; a valiant man; he was named Burgred. Ethelred gave the whole of the rest of his realm to his son Ethelstan. Moreover he gave every tenth hyde of land to God and the Holy Church, free and quit of every kind of secular service, to clothe and feed the poor. Also he gave to God and Saint Peter a penny on every house in England, which they call St. Peter's penny. It was he who first gave this. He gave also three hundred besants to Rome; one hundred was to endow lights for St. Peter, the second hundred for St. Paul, the third hundred was for the Pope. This Ethelwolf dwelt one year at Rome, then he came homewards by France: and took to wife the lady Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald. He lived two years after, and then died and lies at Winchester. This Ethelwolf had four sons. The fifth called Ethelstan was dead. The eldest of the others was named Ethelbald, the second was called Ethelbert, the third was Ethelred, the fourth was Alfred. The fifth, as we have said, was dead.

Ethelbald and Ethelbert shared the kingdom between them, but Ethelbald only lived five years. So Ethelbert obtained the whole of his kingdom. But he only lived another five years afterward.

After him reigned Ethelred, a very noble man before God, and of great power in the world. But the Danes so harassed him that nine times in one year they gave him pitched battle. Seldom was he conquered, and often was conqueror, so killed of them five earls, one king, and people without number. But never should we forget the battle of Ashdown, which he fought at another time against Osith king of Denmark, who came with five earls and with one king and with an astonishing army. Ethelred went to meet him,* and Alfred

* *Oxf. MS. reads:* And on the opposite side king Ethelred and his brother Alfred came, with their followers. And the Danes divided their army into two hosts: the two kings with a large force in the one wing, and the earls and barons in the other wing. King Ethelred divided his troops thus: one wing with himself opposite the two kings, and the other wing under his brother, opposite the earls. The evening drew on, so the battle was delayed until the morrow. King Ethelred heard mass and his brother and their army hurried him greatly. So they commenced the battle, and the Danes attacked them fiercely, and the English were grievously troubled because the king made such delay, so they hastened him instantly. But the king was determined never to leave mass before it was said through, and it wanted little but that the

12 GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN.

his brother with him, so they fought fiercely till night. On the morrow king Ethelred heard his mass very early, and he would not move from the place, until he had heard his service, for any man. For his brother Alfred and his men had commenced the battle in the morning rashly, and were almost defeated, so they sent often to Ethelred who was at mass. After he had heard the whole with good faith he came to the battle. And there God gave him so great glory that he conquered his enemies, and killed king Osith, and five earls, and much people. After this battle he lived five years and died and was buried at Wimborne.

English commenced their fight, when the king arrived. And he signed himself with the cross, and struck at the middle of the press and broke through their rank, and threw himself into the fight and killed there their king Osith and the other king and the five earls, and people without number. But he continued in his reign only five years, so he died and is buried at Wimborne.

FINIS.

Historical Reprints.—IX.

THE
I M P O S T O R

PAINTED IN HIS OWN COLOURS;

OR,

The base Birth and Parentage

OF THE

CHEVALIER DE ST GEORGE,

ALIAS THE

P R E T E N D E R,

Now truly brought to Light;

AND

*Made Publick to deter Jacobites and Tories
from Endeavouring to Exchange our
happy Constitution, Liberty and
Property, for Arbitrary
Power, Slavery and
Wooden Shoes.*

HOC VOLO, SIC JUBEÓ. JUV. Sat. vi.

*London: Printed by J. Read, near Fleetstreet.
Price Three Half-Pence*

*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50
large-paper copies.*



To the Reader.



I AM not forgetful of a certain Person, who some years since asserted the Pretender to be the Son of the Duke of Tyrconnel and one Mrs Gray, murder'd a little before her Child-bearing, at a Nunnery in France. Again, the Author of that Narrative says, He found out the Mystery of the Warming-Pan, by his serving in the Quality of a Page at the Marchioness of Powis; but being well assured, that Mr. William Fuller, at the time when the Pretender was born, was an Apprentice to a Coney-Wool-Cutter in Shoe-Lane, in London; my Faith will not give any Credit to what he formerly writ on this Matter.

Nevertheless, I can do no otherwise than own the Chevalier de St. George, commonly known by the Name of the Pretender, to be an illegitimate Child, because a spurious * Account which I found of his Birth in the Study of a learned Jesuit,

* See.

makes out his Pedigree very plain. The Manuscript of this surprizing Secret was penned by Mr Polton, of the Order of the Society of Jesus, from the Mouth of Father Peters, when he once confessed him, and gave him Absolution, as being near the point of Death, at Abbeville in France.

Afterwards Mr Polton, (noted for the great Controversies held betwixt him, and his Grace the present Archbishop of Canterbury, about the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and other erroneous Points of Faith maintain'd by the Church of Rome) resided at Fouchial, the chief Town of Madera, an Isle in Africk, Tributary to the King of Portugal, and in a Voyage which I made to the West Indies in 1692-3, our Ship touch'd there to take in fresh Water; where going ashore, it was my Fortune to meet with this Gentleman coming out of a Nunnery, who was mightily overjoy'd to see me, because I had once been his Pupil in England.

He takes me to his Lodgings, where turning over his Books, in one of them I found an Account of the Birth and Parentage of this Impostor, whose Insolence threatens us at this juncture with an Invasion; and surreptitiously carrying it on Board with me, transcrib'd the Original, which I return'd again to the Owner, who was not a little surpriz'd at this Discovery of a Cheat, well known to Father Peters; who springing from Ignatius

Loyola, his Profession made him a half Key to open Princes Cabinets, to pry into their Counsels; and where the Pope's Excommunication Thunders, he could hold it no more a Sin to dethrone Kings, than to make a general Massacre among Hereticks.

Mr. Polton us'd all his rhetorical Flourishes to inveigle me out of my Copy; but finding all his pathetick Insinuations in vain, he conjur'd my Secrecy, and could not be easie till I had solemnly promis'd him never to divulge the following Account of the Pretender, on whose Life he Romish See had great hopes to establish Popery in Great-Britain once more; but it is the Utinam of every good Protestant, that the Cherubim's flaming sword will keep the Pope out of this Island, which he, by his Apostacy hath justly forfeited and lost, till Time shall be swallow'd up in Eternity. And to conclude,—That which hath induced me to send this Narrative into the World, is Loyalty to my lawful Sovereign King George, Veneration for the Church of England, and a real Love for my Country; which, by means of the present Administration, will be made happy for ever.





THE
IMPOSTOR

Painted in his own Colours, &c.



I WILL not speak of the Assassination-Plot in the Reign of King William the Third, for which Sir William Perkins, Sir John Friend, Charnock, Keys, Cranborn, and others were executed at Tyburn ; I shall proceed to hint on the unparallell'd Baseness of King James the Second, who was so much bigotted to the Church of Rome, to Establish Popery in this Kingdom, and endeavoured to disinherit his own lawfully begotten Children, by trumping up an Impostor on us ; as you shall hear now by the Sequel of this Narrative.

When the great Nassau came to deliver Great Britain and Ireland from Slavery and Arbitrary Power, the evil Counsellors of King James being

forc'd to fly beyond Sea, among them Father Peters made his escape, and being taken desperately ill of a Fever at Abbeville in France, he sent for one Andrew Polton, a Jesuit, who had then but lately been Chief Pedagogue of the first or head School erected in the Seminary in the Savoy, by the said King James; no sooner was he come to his Chamber, but all the Company being desired by the sick Person to depart the same, then addressing himself to Mr Polton, he told him his Sickness rather increased on him than diminish'd, wherefore he was willing to make his Confession to him, which he requested he would pen down *verbatim*.

“ Dear Brother, of the same Society with me, and not unworthy of meriting the Fellowship of St. Ignatius de Loyola, our Founder, you cannot be insensible of my endeavouring, when I was a Privy Counsellor to the unfortunate King James, to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of all his Kingdoms. In order thereto, I, and some others of the Privy Council, advis'd him to assume and exercise a dispensing Power, by suspending the Execution of Laws without Consent of Parliament. We advis'd him to commit the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of St Asaph, Bishop of Ely, Bishop of Chichester, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Bishop of Peterborough, and Bishop of Bristol to the

Tower; to erect a Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, to levy Money for the Use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative; to raise and keep a Standing Army in time of Peace; to quarter Soldiers contrary to Law; to disarm Protestants; to violate the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament; to return Jurors in Tryals for High-Treason, who were not Freeholders; to require excessive Bail of Persons committed in criminal Cases; to impose excessive Fines, and to inflict illegal and cruel Punishments on Persons who were not of our side.

“But above all, to establish Popery for ever in Great Britain, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging, I advis’d the King to disinherit his true and lawfully begotten Children Mary and Anne, by making the Kingdom believe his Queen was with Child; accordingly, Prayers were offered up in all Churches for her happy delivery, when, alas! she was no more with Child than you, or I, Sir. Now, to put a fair Gloss on this Intrigue, carried on for the Good of Mother-Church, Her Majesty cunningly seeming to be in Travail, she was convey’d on Saturday the 9th of June, 1688, to the Palace of St James, where on Sunday Morning next, being the 10th of the same Month, she was presently brought to Bed of a fine Boy without any Pain at all, because the Child was gotten to her hand by my own self, ghostly

Father, on the Body of one Mrs Elizabeth Mac-nemarra, who was a Bye-blow her self, begotten by a Gentleman of that Name living in the North of Ireland, where she was born, and being brought by the Duchess of Tyrconnel to London, in the Quality of a Chamber-maid ; who being endow'd with some Beauty but little Wit, I did nevertheless presume to transgress against the Rules of our Order, which, beside Poverty and Obedience, enjoyn us to Chastity, by making carnal Use of her Person, to promote our Interest ; which then seem'd likely to prosper, since she happen'd to be brought to Bed, just as the Queen had passed her Reckoning ; and that the true Mother of this sham Prince might not tell Tales when she went abroad, as soon as she was up again, we dispatch'd her out of the World with a Dose of Poyson, and privately buried her Body in Hyde Park.

“On the same Day as my dear Babe was born, and secretly convey'd by an intriguing Lady into the Queen's Bed, it was order'd in Council that there should be a general Thanksgiving, to be observ'd within the Liberties of London and Westminster, and Parts adjacent, on Sunday the 17th of June, and 14 Days after, in all other Parts of that Kingdom : And, that Notice should be given of the Birth of this Spurious Prince to the Lord-Mayor of London, that Bonfires, and

public Rejoycings might be made; which was accordingly perform'd, after firing the Cannon of the Tower, with all the Demonstrations of extraordinary Joy, with which so great a Blessing, bestow'd by my Vigour and Manhood upon their Majesties, had filled the Hearts of their Subjects. And still to make the Matter look more plausible, it was order'd by the King in Council, on the First of November following, That the several Declarations made by His Majesty, who knew well enough it was none of his Child; and by Her Majesty the Queen Dowager, together with the several Depositions made by some Noblemen, be forthwith Enroll'd in the Court of Chancery; but all would not do, for the Generality of the People knew the Brungin was a Trick put upon them, and would no more acknowledge him to be the true Heir to the three Kingdoms, than they would the Pope's Nuncio.

“However, Reverend Father, I can't help it; I did my best to advance our Cause; and therefore let me die when I will, I hope the Fornication and murder I committed to fix our Religion once more in England, is not so much as a venial Sin, but rather Meritorious, and will translate me to those Regions whither Garnet, and others of our honourable Society are long since fled before me.”

Here Father Peters making an end of Confessing

himself, Mr Polton gave him Absolution with Tears in his Eyes ; as well he might, to see such a Sinner glory in his Wickedness ; which was so great that he durst attempt to put Fallacies upon his Maker out of his own Word, and make God's most Righteous precepts the Topicks of his Disobedience.

All the World knows the Character of Father Peters was none of the best ; therefore the Chevalier de St George, alias the Pretender, his own Child, cannot be much better ; which makes good the old Proverb, *Mali corvi malum ovum*, that is to say, Like Father, like Son. Now should he be introduced here by a Foreign Power, mixt with some Irish Papists, who are the worst of Papists, and Scum of Mankind, being sensible of the meanness of his Birth, he may prove a second Maximinus, which Emperor being born in a pelted Village of Thrace, slew as many as knew his Pedigree, and had seen the Rags of his Parents. Herod burnt the Genealogies of the Jews, that he might affirm himself, as well as they, to have descended of a Noble Race ; and Themistocles, a Bastard, for to cloak his Birth, and to remove the ill Opinion conceived of him that Way, enticed the young Nobility of Athens, to frequent Cynosarges, a School without the City, where Bastards did only frequent.

Now what would our Jacobites and Tories be

at? They want an Impostor to change the most happy and best Constitution in the World for a Despotic and Arbitrary Power. They prefer Bondage and Slavery before Liberty and Property; the Superstition of an Idolatrous See before the Purity of the Church of England; the Pollution of our Holy Orders before the true Service of our God; Dragooning out of their Money before giving it by their own Consent; and wearing Wooden Shoes before Ease and Decency. In fine, as the Pretender has been bred up in a Court, well vers'd in Tyranny and Oppression, without doubt he will perfectly act the Part of the Prophet's King, should he, which God forbid, obtain the British Crown by Usurpation. For what would happen in that Case, see 1 Sam. viii., 11 to 18.

Moreover, do the Jacobites and Tories want to see again the Reign of Bloody Queen Mary, when Smithfield and other Places have blazed with Holy Martyrs? So great is the Cruelty of the Papists, that they have not only destroy'd the Body, but also the Soul, by making some Persons deny their Faith, and then, for fear of a Recantation, presently murder'd them. Thus the Villainy of this sort of Christians, if I may reckon them in that Class, exceeded the Prosecution of Heathens, whose Malice (as a learned man says) was never so *Longimanus* as to reach the Souls of their

Enemies, or to extend unto the Exile of their Elysiums. Though the Blindness of some Ferities have savaged on the Dead, and been so injurious unto Worms, as to disinter the Bodies of the deceased, yet had they therein no design upon the Soul, and have been so far from the Destruction of that, or Desires of a perpetual Death, that for the Satisfaction of their Revenge they wish'd them many Souls; and were it in their Power would have reduced them to Life again. It was a great Depravity in our Natures, and surely an Affection that somewhat savoureth of Hell, to desire the Society, or comfort our Selves in the Fellowship of others that Suffer with us; but to procure the Miseries of others in those Extremities, wherein we hold a Hope to have no Society our Selves, is methinks, a Strain above Lucifer, and a Project beyond the primary Seduction of infernal Powers.





The Character of the Pretender.



THE Chevalier de St. George, is a mere Proteus, that can change himself to all Shapes, and conform himself to all Humours to inveigle Rebels to espouse his bad Cause ; and obtaining his Ends (like Bloody Queen Mary, who martyr'd those that put her on the Throne) he'll cut their Throats. To those that Support him in his Vagabond Course of Life, he's as humble as a Slave ; but to them he reckons his Inferiours he's as Haughty as an elevated Footman. His Bounty already extends only to Bawds and Whores ; and his Generosity to Irish Pimps and Parasites ; to gain which, they most obsequiously dissemble, and tell the Fool he's a King. His whole Life is like

Penelope's Webb, nothing but doing and undoing ; for as what she did in the Day, she undid in the Night ; so if he attempts an Invasion, he runs away again for fear. Now he is Abroad, he seems an Angel to the Tories ; but was he here, they would soon find him a Devil. When he comes to be Hang'd, he may find, among Papists and Jacobites, Tegelius's Mourners, to sigh out Elegies, and sing Dirges at his Funeral, but none among honest Men. We can call this thing no other than a Hobedehoy, that is, half Man, half Boy ; who hath more Perriwig then Brains in his Head, and no Religion at all in his Heart. Though he has been a long time in France, a polite Country, yet he was always lock'd up in the dark Dungeon of Ignorance and Inconstancy ; which was more infected with Errors, than Augeus's Stables with Ordure. He hath neither Sense or Wit ; and as yet he remains on t'other side the Water, as having a mind (I suppose) to stay at home, to try how long his Skin well kept, would last. His Ambition incites him to aspire to that which is none of his Due by Birthright ; and this Insolence makes the wisest part of Mankind now perceive him to be an Impostor. Was he to Reign here by Usurpation, (which God forbid) we should soon have occasion to cry out, that the Subjects of the Grand Signior, the Czar of Moscow, and the late King of France, enjoy'd the

best Government in the World. Tyranny is his Minion ; Idleness his Recreation ; Religion his Conveniency ; Massacres his Satisfaction ; and Fools, Knaves, and Blockheads his Companions.

In fine, he's a great Bigot, and *Un pauvre génie* ; Therefore let all true Born Britains consider, Whether Bigotry and Ignorance joyn'd together are fit Qualifications for a Governor of a Protestant Nation.*

* This is perhaps the clumsiest libel on, as well as the coarsest invective against, the Pretender, to be found in the mass of polemical literature, which, mushroom-like, sprang up on all sides in the days immediately preceding the '15 and '45.

Finis.

Historical Reprints.—I.

THE
POLITICAL CREED
OF A
TORY-MALECONTENT.

Taken from the FREE-HOLDER.

*Periculosum est credere, & non credere :
Utriusque exemplum breviter exponam rei.
Hippolitus obiit, quia novercæ creditum est :
Cassandræ quia non creditum, ruit Ilium.
Ergo exploranda est veritas multum prius,
Quàm stulta pravè judicet sententia. Phædr.*



EDINBURGH :
Printed in the Year MDCCXLV.

*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50
large-paper copies.*



THE
POLITICAL CREED
OF A
TORY-MALECONTENT.

HAVING in the Seventh Paper considered many of those Falshoods by which the Cause of our Malecontents is supported ; I shall here speak of that extravagant Credulity, which disposes each particular Member of their Party to believe them. This strange Alacrity in Believing Absurdity and Inconsistence may be called the *Political Faith* of a Tory.

A Person who is thoroughly endowed with this Political Faith, like a Man in a Dream, is entertained from one End of his Life to the other with Objects that have no Reality or Existence. He is daily nourished and kept in Humour by Fiction and Delusion ; and may be compared to the old obstinate Knight in *Rabelais*, that every Morning swallowed a Chimera for his Breakfast.

This political Faith of a Malecontent is

altogether founded on Hope. He does not give Credit to any thing because it is probable, but because it is pleasing. His wishes serve him instead of Reasons, to confirm the Truth of what he hears. There is no Report so incredible or contradictory in itself which he doth not chearfully believe, if it tends to the Advancement of the Cause. In short, a Malecontent who is a good Believer has generally Reason to repeat the celebrated Rant of an Ancient Father, *Credo quia impossibile est*: Which is as much as to say, *It must be true, because it is Impossible*.

It has been very well observed, that the most credulous Man in the World is the Atheist, who believes the Universe to be the Production of Chance. In the same manner a Tory, who is the greatest Believer in what is improbable, is the greatest Infidel in what is certain. Let a Friend to the Government relate to him a Matter of Fact, he turns away his Ear from him, and gives him the Lye in every Look. But if one of his own Stamp should tell him, that the King of *Sueden* would be suddenly at *Perth*, and that his Army is now actually marching thither upon the Ice; he hugs himself at the good News, and gets drunk upon it before he goes to Bed. This Sort of People puts one in Mind of several Towns of *Europe* that are inaccessible on the one Side, while they lie open and unguarded on the other. The Minds of our

Malecontents are indeed so depraved with those Falshoods which they are perpetually imbibing, that they have a natural Relish for Error, and have quite lost the Taste of Truth in political Matters. I shall therefore dismiss this Head with a Saying of King *Charles* the Second. This Monarch, when he was at *Windsor*, used to amuse himself with the Conversation of the famous *Vossius*, who was full of Stories relating to the Antiquity, Learning, and Manners of the *Chinese*; and at the same time a Free-thinker in Points of Religion. The King, upon hearing him repeat some incredible Accounts of these Eastern People, turning to those who were about him, *This Learned Divine*, said he, *is a very strange Man: He believes every thing but the Bible.*

Having thus far considered the political Faith of the Party as it regards Matters of Fact, let us in the next Place take a View of it with respect to those Doctrines which it embraces, and which are the Fundamental Points whereby they are distinguished from those, whom they used to represent as Enemies to the Constitution in Church and State. How far their great Articles of political Faith, with respect to our Ecclesiastical and Civil Government, are consistent with themselves, and agreeable to Reason and Truth, may be seen in the following Paradoxes, which are the Essentials of a *Tory's* Creed, with relation to political

Matters. Under the Name of *Tories*, I do not here comprehend Multitudes of well-designing Men, who were formerly included under that Denomination, but are now in the Interest of his Majesty and the present Government. These have already seen the evil Tendency of such Principles, which are the *Credenda* of the Party, as it is opposite to that of the *Whigs*.

Article I.

That the Church of *England* will be always in Danger, till it has a Popish King for its Defender.

II.

That for the Safety of the Church no Subject should be tolerated in any Religion different from the establish'd ; but that the Head of our Church may be of that Religion which is most repugnant to it.

III.

That the Protestant Interest in this Nation, and in all *Europe*, could not but flourish under the Protection of one, who thinks himself obliged, on Pain of Damnation, to do all that lies in his Power for the Extirpation of it.

IV.

That we may safely rely upon the Promises of one, whose Religion allows him to make them, and at the same Time obliges him to break them.

V.

That a good Man should have a greater Abhorrence of Presbyterianism, which is *Perverseness*, than of Popery, which is but *Idolatry*.

VI.

That a Person who hopes to be King of *England* by the assistance of *France*, would naturally adhere to the *British* Interest, which is always opposite to that of the *French*.

VII.

That a Man has no Opportunities of learning how to govern the People of *England*, in any foreign Countrey, so well as in *France* or *Italy*.

VIII.

That Ten Millions of People should rather chuse to fall into Slavery, than not acknowledge their Prince to be invested with an hereditary and indefeasible Right of Oppression.

IX.

That we are obliged in Conscience to become Subjects of a Duke of *Savoy*, or of a *French* King, rather than enjoy for our Sovereign a Prince, who is the first of the Royal Blood in the Protestant Line.

X.

That Non-Resistance is the Duty of every Christian, whilst he is in a good Place.

XI.

That we ought to profess the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience, till such Time as Nature rebels against Principle, that is, 'till we are put to the Necessity of practising it.

XII.

That the Papists have taken up Arms to defend the Church of *England* with the utmost Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes.

XIII.

That there is an unwarrantable Fiction in this Island, consisting of King, Lords and Commons.

XIV.

That the Legislature, when there is a Majority of *Whigs* in it, has not Power to make Laws.

XV.

That an Act of Parliament to empower the King to Secure Suspected Persons in Times of Rebellion, is the Means to establish the Sovereign on the Throne, and consequently a great Infringement of the Liberties of the Subject.

FINIS.

Historical Reprints.—V.

NO

Blinde Guides,

IN ANSWER

To a feditious Pamphlet of

J. MILTON'S,

INTITULED

*Brief Notes upon a late Sermon Titt'd, the fear of
God and the King ; Preach'd, and since Pub-
lish'd, By Matthew Griffith, D.D.
And Chaplain to the late
KING, &c.*

Addressed to the Author.

*If the Blinde lead the Blinde, Both shall fall
into the Ditch.*



LONDON,

Printed for Henry Broome April 20. 1660.

*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50
large-paper copies.*



NO

Blinde Guides, &c.

Mr Milton,

Although in your *Life*, and *Doctrine*, you have *Resolved* one great *Question* ; by eviaencing that *Devils* may *Indue* *Human* *shapes* ; and proving your *self*, even to your own *Wife*, an *Incubus* : you have yet started *Another* ; and that is, whether *you* are not of *That* *Regiment*, which carried the *Herd* of *Swine* head-long into the *Sea* : and moved the *People* to beseech *Jesus* to depart out of their *coasts*. (*This* may be very well imagined, from your suitable practices *Here*). Is it possible to read your *Proposals* of the *benefits* of a *Free-State*, without Reflecting upon your *Tuteurs*—*All this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down, and worship me* ? Come, come, Sir, lay the Devil aside ; do not proceed with so much *malice*, and against *Knowledge* : ——— Act like a

Man; ——— that a good Christian may not be affraid to pray for you.

Was it not *You*, that scribled a Justification of the *Murther* of the *King*, against *Salmasius*, and made it *good* too, Thus: *That murther was an Action meritorious, compared with your superiour wickedness.* 'Tis *There*, (as I remember) that you *Common place* your self into *set forms* of *Rayling*, two Pages thick: and lest, your Infamy should not extend it self enough, within the Course and Usage of your *Mother-tongue*, the *Thing* is Dress'd up in a *Travailing Garb*, and *Language*: to blast the English Nation to the Universe; and to give every man a Horrour for *Mankind*, when he Considers, *You are of the Race.* In This, you are above all *Others*; but in your ICONOCLASTES, you exceed your *self*.

There, not content to see that Sacred Head divided from the *Body*; your piercing Malice enters into the private Agonies of his struggling *Soul*; with a Blasphemous Insolence, invading the Prerogative of God himself: (Omniscience) and by Deductions most *Unchristian*, and *Illogical*, aspersing his *Last Pieties*, (the almost certain *Inspirations* of the *Holy Spirit*) with *Juggle*, and *Prevarication*. Nor are the *Words* ill fitted to the *Matter*. The Bold *Design* being suited with a conform *Irreverence* of *Language*. (but I do not love to Rake long in a Puddle.)

To take a view in particular of all your Factional Labours, would cost more time, than I am willing to afford them. Wherefore I shall stride over all

the *rest*, and pass directly to your *Brief Notes upon a Late* SERMON, Titl'd,

The Fear of God and the King.

Preach'd, and since Publish'd by MATTHEW
GRIFFITH D.D. *and Chaplain to*
the late KING, &c.

ANY man that can but *Read* your *Title*, may *understand* your *Drift* & that you Charge the *Royal Interest*, & *Party* thorough the *Doctour's* sides. I am not *bold* enough to be his *Champion*, in all particulars; nor yet so *Rude*, as to take an Office most properly to him Belonging, out of his Hand: Let him acquit *himself*, in what concerns the *Divine*; and I'll adventure upon the most material parts of the *Rest*. (but with this Profession, that I have no design in exposing your Mistakes, saving to hinder them from becoming the *Peoples*.)

Your *Entrance* is a little *Peremptory*, and *Magisterial*, methinks, (but that shall be allowed you) 'please you, we'll see how *Pertinent* it is, and *Rational*.

I Affirm'd in the Preface of a late discourse, Entitl'd, *The ready way to establish a free Commonwealth, and the dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation*, that the humor of returning to our

old bondage, was instill'd of late by some deceivers ; and to make good, that what I then affirm'd, was not without just ground, one of those deceivers I present here to the people ; and if I prove him not such, I refuse not to be so accounted in his stead.

TO the *First* : give me leave to mind you, that you make an *observation* of things *Past*, amount to a *foretelling* of what's to *come*. This *Sermon* was not *Preach'd*, when that *Humor* you mention, was *Instill'd*. Next ; You'll as hardly satisfie the people, that you your selfe, are *no Deceiver*, as prove the *Doctor* one of those you *meant*. And this I'll Instance ; *KINGSHIP*, is *your old Bondage* ; *RUMPSHIP*, *ours* : (Forgive the Term) *You* were *Then*, *Past* the *One* : we are now (God be thanked) *past* the *Other* : and should be as loth to *Return*, as *You*. Yet you are *Tampering* to *delude* the *People*, and to withdraw them from a *Peaceable*, and *Rational expectancy* of good, into a *mutinous*, and *hopeless attempt* of mischief.

By your own Rule now, who are the Deceivers : We, that will not *Return* to our *old Bondage* ; or *you*, that would *perswade* us to't ?

Your next Paragraph talks of *Purgatives*, *Myrrhe*, *Aloes*, &c.—It may be an Apothecaries Bill, for ought I know, and I have no skill in Physique.

As little shall I concern my self in your unmannerly descant upon the *Epistle*, which is the Busi-

ness of your *Second Page*. The *Third*, contains your *Gloss* upon the *Text*, and that I shall examine.

The Text.

Prov. 24. 21. *My son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that be seditious, or desirous of change, &c.*

Letting pass matters not in controversie, I come to the main drift of your Sermon, *the King*; which word here is either to signifie any supreme Magistrate, or else your latter object of fear is not universal, belongs not at all to many parts of Christendom, that have no King; and in particular, not to us. That we have no King since the putting down of Kingship in this Commonwealth, is manifest by this last Parliament, who to the time of their dissolving not only made no address at all to any King, but summon'd this next to come by the Writ formerly appointed of a free Commonwealth, without restitution or the least mention of any Kingly right or power; which could not be, if there were at present any King of *England*. The main part therefore of your Sermon, if it mean a King in the usual sense, is either impertinent and absurd, exhorting your auditory to fear that which is not; or if King here be, as it is, understood for any supreme Magistrate, by your own exhortation they are in the first place not to *meddle* with you, as being your self most of all the *seditious* meant here, and the *desirous of change*, in stirring them up to *fear* a *King*, whom the present Government takes no notice of.

Not to contend about the *Large*, or *Limited* Sense of the word KING : since 'tis agreed upon, at all hands, to signify *Supreme Authority* ; and, where a *Single Person governs*, to denote the *Monarch*. The issue rests upon this point : *Is there, or is there not* at present, any King of *England* ? You say, *No* ; I'm of another mind . Compare our Reasons.

You Argue ? *First, the Putting down of Kingship* ; and then, — the Tacit confirmation of that *Act*, by the last *Session* : who *without* any *Address to any King, or Restitution of any Kingly Right, summoned the next to come by the Writ formerly Appointed of a Free Commonwealth*.

To your Assumption, that *Kingship was put down* ; I cannot subscribe, till I am better satisfied, by *what Authority* : for *no Form of Government can be altered, but by consent of all the Parties to it*. In short, the late *King* was *Destroy'd, Kingship Abolish'd, the House of Lords Disauthoris'd*, and at least 7. parts of 8. of the *Commons Members seclud'd—by the same Power*.

Come to your *Inference* now ; *That*, halts of all four, *There was no King, because they did not mention him* : you are a little bold methinks, to lay your *Brat* at the *Parliament Door* : and Father your opinions upon *them*, that in the case, would not declare their *own*.

Reasons of *State*, of *Honour*, and *Convenience*, might very fairly move them to suspend. Suppose they thought it *Prudence* to refer all to the next Convention, without so much as a Debate ;

whether a *King* or *No*: and upon this point of extreme necessity (the Nation running headlong, into another War without the Interpose of a new Representative) rather dispence with something of Informality in the Writs, than otherwise to hazzard the main Issue of the Publique weal. If all this be not enough, I hope the re-minding the *Nation* of the COVENANT; and their *own* refusal of the Oath of ABJURATION, will content you.

Your 4th Page, runs away in some mistakes concerning *Gideon*;—(a Person, *Call'd* and set apart by God himself; guided by Divine *Inspirations*; and Acting without Partnership, the work he was employ'd upon).

A little further, you deny the King, *the Power of life and death*, urging [Page 4.] that 'tis against the declared Judgments of our Parliaments, nay of our Laws; which reserve to themselves only the power of life and death, &c.

I 'LL not deny, but a Parliament is above the King: (That is: The King is greater in Conjunction with his two *Houses*, than by *Himself*) but still this weakens not the force of my assertion; which is, that Kings must necessarily have that power: *without* it, they're no Kings (and 'tis the same thing in all Governments whatsoever, 'tis one of the Prerogatives Inseparable from supreme Authority) But since you urge the *Declar'd Judgements of our Parliaments*, in favour of your opinion, I should be glad to see them.

Now for the Laws; 'tis true; they Pronounce Life, or Death; but the King's left at Liberty to Take, or to Remit the forfeiture, at pleasure. Enough is said of this.

If I were bent to *Cavil*; your 5th. Page would afford matter abundantly, where you extravagat upon the word *Anointed*: but That is more peculiarly the *Doctor's* Businesse, and I refer you to him. So are your slips, [*Page 6.*] but *Those*, I cannot passe without a marque: For *There*, you show your *Teeth*. (I might have said, your *Eares* to boot).

“But how will you confirm one wrested Scripture with another: 1 *Sam. 8. 7. They have not rejected thee, but me*: grosly misapplying these words, which were not spoken to any who had resisted or rejected a King, but to them who much against the will of God had sought a King, and rejected a Commonwealth where they might have liv'd happily under the Reign of God only, their King. Let the words interpret themselves: *v. 6, 7. But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, give us a King to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, harken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.* Hence you conclude, so indissoluble is the Conjunction of God and the King. O notorious abuse of Scripture! when as you should have concluded, So unwilling was God to give

them a King, So wide was the disjunction of God from a King."

M^{R.} *Milton*, when your hand was *In*, another verse methinks should not have overcharg'd you : and 'tis the very next too. *As they have ever done* (says God to Samuel) *since I brought them out of Egypt, even unto this Day, (and have forsaken me, and served other Gods) even so doe they unto thee.* This, would have given you light to read the *Rest* by ; and (possible) have done *you* the *same* service, which you pretend to doe the *Doctour*. (But none so Blind as they that will not see) especially, had you but taken in likewise the verse next Antecedent to your Quotation, which speaks the *motive* to their such *Desires* ; as the other does fairly imply the *Reason* of God's *Disapproval* of them, 'twas a hard misse, and an industrious one (I fear) to scape the 5, and 8, verses, without the which, the 6 and 7, (which you make use of) have no intelligible Coherence. *Make us a King*, (say they) *to Judge us like the Nations* v. 5. and after That, v. 8. God charges them with inclinations to *Idolatry* ; so that the inference is open ; They had a hankering after the *Gods* of the Nations, as well as the *Kingship* ; and *That* moved the All-seeing wisdom, (that knew their hearts) to tell *Samuel*, saying, *they have not Rejected Thee, but Me* : a Speech applyable to their *Disobedience*, rather, than to their *Proposition* : God is rejected, in the rejection of his

Ministers. — This is a stubborn Text Sir, and will not mould as you would have it.

Had not they against the will of God, sought a KING, and rejected a Common-wealth, you tell us, *that they might have liv'd HAPPILY under the reign of God onely their King.* (Indeed you have the best intelligence) — I beseech you how doe you know this? whom God loves he chastens: and persecution, in this world, is the Portion of the Saints. It's true; their obedience to God here, would certainly have rendred them Happy hereafter; but this is not the Happinesse you drive at. Look back now upon the 3. verse of the same Chapter; and there you'll find some Reason to apprehend the contrary. For *Samuel* being Old, and having made his sonnes Judges over *Israel*; the Text sayes, that *his sonnes walked not in his wayes, but turn'd aside after Lucre, and took Rewards, and perverted Judgement, &c.* now, if from hence, you can perswade your self into a good opinion of a Popular Government, I cannot blame your stickling for the *Rump*; But that this mis-rule should please God, your modesty I hope will not pretend to offer. You'll say however, that the *Popular form* did; I'll not contend about it; Did not the *Regall* too, as much in *David*; a King of God's particular choice, and a man after his Own Heart? So that you gain little by the odds of a *Free-State* in ballance against *Monarchy*. In one word: The *Saviour* of the *World* was a KING, and a King of Jewes.

Grant, or *Denie* at pleasure, I have you in a

Net. Why would you meddle with a Chapter, that you were sure would burn your fingers? There's no Relief you see, against Authority. 'Tis well you stopp'd short of that *Lex Regni* which *Samuel* opens to the People; (beginning at the 11. verse of the same *Chapter*;) from whence, lyes no Appeal. Truly, your insincerity in this Section, is more exposed, than I could wish it.

Under the Reign of God onely their King you say. This expression, doubtfully implies you a Millenary. Doe you then, really expect to see Christ, Reigning upon Earth, even with *those very eyes* you *Lost* (as 'tis reported) *with staring too long, and too sawcily upon the Portraiture of his Vicegerent, to breake the Image*, as your Impudence Phrases it? (It is generally indeed believed, you never wept them out for this *Losse*.)

In my Passage from hence, to your *Frog-morall*: I cannot but remember you that there was a *Plague* of Frogs as well as a *Fable*. *Frogs that crept into the Kings Chambers, and into the Houses of his Servants, &c.* — Now to your *Fable*.

Nor are you happier in the relating or the moralizing your *Fable*. “The *frogs* (being once a free Nation saith the *Fable*) petitioned *Jupiter* for a King: he tumbld amongst them a log. They found it insensible: they petitioned then for a King that should be active: he sent them a Crane (a *Stork* saith the fable) which straight fell to pecking them up. This you apply to the reproof of them who desire change: whereas indeed the true

moral shows rather the folly of those, who being free seek a King ; which for the most part either as a log lies heavie on his Subjects, without doing ought worthie of his dignitie and the charge to maintain him, or as a Stork is ever pecking them up and devouring them."

Mr. *Milton*, (to agree with you as far as possible) if *One Log* be so *Intollerable*, for the *Burthen* ; or *One Stork*, for the *Cruelty*, and *Greedinesse* : what do you think of 40. *Storks*, and every *Stork* a *Log* in his belly ?

What do you think of a *Grand, Arbitrary, & Perpetual Counsel* and no more *Parliaments* ? (according to your *Gratious Proposition*, [*Page 8.*] of your *Free and easie way*, &c.) And, in regard that *in a free Commonwealth*, they who are greatest, are *Perpetual Serbants*, and *Drudges* to the publique, at their own cost and *Charges*, neglect their own affairs ; yet are not elevated above their *Brethren*. Live soberly in their *Families*, walk the *Streets* as other men ; may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without *Adoration*. [*page 4.*] What do you think of the *Rump Parliaments* *Perpetuating* it self, under the name of *That grand Counsel* ? [*Page 10.*] the *Government* being in so many *Faithfull* and *Experienced* hands, next under *God*, so *Able* ; especially *Filling up* their number, as they intend, and abundantly sufficient so happily to govern us : [*P. 11, &c.*] Alas, these very Gentlemen are

Pigeons, not a *Stork* among them ; do not deceive your self Sir ; you're one of those they have Fed : of the same *Plume*, and *Kind* ; ask but the honest party of the Nation, and they shall tell you, that *Tom. Scott*, and his *Associate Patriots*, can *Peck*, as well as *Bill*.

Now we have *Play'd*, let's to our *Book* again, and be a little *Earnest*.

You charge the Doctor, in your 8. *Page*, for saying,

That by our Fundamental Laws, the King is the highest power, Page 40. " If we must hear mootings and Law-lectures from the Pulpit, what shame is it for a Dr. of Divinitie, not first to consider, that no law can be *fundamental*, but that which is groundd on the light of nature or right reason, commonly call'd *moral Law* : which no form of Government was ever counted ; but arbitrarie, and at all times in the choice of every free people, or their representers. This choice of Government is so essential to their freedom, that longer then they have it, they are not free. In this Land not only the late King and his posteritie, but Kingship it self hath been abrogated by a law ; which involves with as good reason the posterity of a King forfeited to the people, as that Law heretofore of Treason against the King, attainted the Children with the Father."

M Ethinks you might have spar'd your Criticism upon the word *Fundamental*, being

a *Term*, that *Usage* hath authorized ; were nothing more in't : and soberly, I do not find but it may stand a nicer Test, than perhaps you'll impose upon it.

No Law (you say) *can be Fundamental but that which is grounded on the Light of Nature, or right reason,—which no FORM of Government was ever counted, &c.*—So that tho' GOVERNMENT it self directs to *Fundamentals*: yet the *Specification* of it, into such or such a FORM, does not. You are Queint, Sir : shew me *Government* without a *Form*, further than in *Notion* ; and only *Notional* must be the *Laws* too that *support* it. *Obedience* to *Superiors*, is a *Moral Fundamental* : and where, to *One*, or *More*, vested with *unconditionate Dominion*, (I mean, as to the Power of Revocation) we once Contract a *Duty* ; as the *Person*, and *Authority* are *Inseverable*, so is the *Obligation Indispensable*, which by a *Fundamentall Law* is become due ; as well to the *King himself*, as unto *Kingship*. I shall be tedious if I unty all your knots.

The Choice you say is *Arbitrary* ; so 'tis in *Marriage*, that is, till we have pass'd away our *Freedom*. (but you are for *Divorce*, I see, as well of *Governours*, as *Wives*). Your next now is a shrewd one, (is it your *own* I pray'e?) *This choice of Government* (you tell us) *is so essential to the Peoples Freedoms, that longer then they have it, they're not free.* In truth, you're in the Right. Is any *People Free*, where there is any Government ? This is somewhat worse, than the Doctors FUN-

DAMENTALL. FREEDOME and GOVERNMENT (in *Politiques*) *Contra-Distinguish* one another. (have a care of this argument ; for if the People are *Free* to *Chuse*, they'll never *Chuse* any of your Friends again).

But if the *King*, his *Posterity* ; nay, and *Kingship* it self, have been *abrogated* by a *Law* ; That's another matter.

By what *Law* I beseech you ? By the *Law* of a little *Faction*, that dares not put their heads upon a *Tryal* by the *Establish'd* *Law* of the *Land* ? (your next shift is wretched).

If that no Law must be held good, but what passes in FULL Parliament, then surely, in exactness of Legality no Member must be missing, &c.—

I Answer you, that it is not the *Actual sitting* of *All* but the *Liberty* of *All* to *Sit* : not the *Fullnesse* of the *House*, but the *Freedom* of the *Members*. It is one thing ; a *Law* that's made in the *Absence* of many of the *Members*, that might have been *Present*, if they would ; (and are possibly fined for *non-attendance*) and another thing ; the *Vote* of a *tenth Part* of That *Body*, which it *selfentire*, is but the *third Part* of the *Legislative Power* : This *Remnant* too by force of *Armes* violently secluding the *Rest*.

But you have no *Conscience* with you. *Kingship* *Abolished* will not do your work it seems.

You suppose "it never was establish'd by any

certain Law in this Land, nor possibly could be : for how could our forefathers bind us to any certain form of Government, more then we can bind our posteritie? If a people be put to war with their King for his misgovernment, and overcome him, the power is then undoubtedly in their own hands how they will be govern'd. The war was granted *just* by the King himself at the beginning of his last Treatie ; and still maintained to be so by this last Parliament, as appears by the qualifications prescrib'd to the Members of this next ensuing, That none shall be elected, who have born arms against the Parliament since 1641. If the war were *just*, the Conquest was also just by the Law of Nations. And he who was the chiefemie, in all right ceased to be the King, especially after captivitie, by the deciding verdict of war ; and royaltie with all her Laws and pretentions, yet remains in the victors power, together with the choice of our future Government."

IF *Kingship* was never established, what was I beseech you? had we *no Government*?

Nor could it be, you say : Alas then for *your ready, and easie way* to ESTABLISH a FREE COMMONWEALTH, what will become then of YOUR STANDING COUNCIL? *If no certain form of Government can bind our posterity* (as you affirm) Then is it free at any time for the People to *Assemble*, and *Tumult*, under the colour of a new *Choyce*.

Your *next* for altering the *Form of Government* upon a Quarrell onely in point of *male-administration*: I think that cleers it self.

You say that *the Warre was granted just by the King himself, &c.* and (a while after) *if the War were just, so was the Conquest also, by the Laws of Nations; — and that the victors, are free to chuse, a Future Government.*

What would you give that I'd dispute the *Originall* of the Quarrell with you? Come, we'll not differ about the *Kings Concessions*: Take it for granted, that the *Warre was just*: That is, *The Warre was Just to such intents, and with such limits, as were the evident, and declared scope, and Bounds of it.* The *Reasons*, and the *Tendency* thereof, me-thinks they should know best that *Levied*, and were *Parties* in it, and for *That*, take but one passage of above a Hundred, to the same purpose.

“ We are (say they) so far from altering the
 “ *Fundamentall Constitution, and Govern=*
 “ *ment of the Kingdom, by Kings, Lords, and*
 “ *Commons (that we have onely desired, that with*
 “ *the consent of the King such powers may be*
 “ *settled in the Two Houses, &c.* — This *Decla=*
ration bears date *Ap. 17. 1646.* and is entituled—
A Declaration of their true intentions, concern=
ing the Antient Government of the Nation, &c.

Now if the *Prospect* of the *War* was *bounded*; in *Reason*, and in *Honour*, the *Conquest* ought to be so likewise. Especially, where onely, *extreme necessity* was pleaded to make it appear *warrant=*

able; and where the *dispute* was **Lawfull Liberty**, and **Safety**; not **Dominion**.

Again; 'twas not against the *King*, the *Warre* was *raised*, therefore the *Conquest* cannot in Reason Reach him. His **Honour**, **Safety** and **Support**, the *two Houses Vowed* and *Covenanted to maintain*.

Further; those *Things* that you call *Victors*, may, by the same Pretence, claim to a Conquest over the *Lords*, and their *Fellow-Members*, whom they Forcibly cast out; as well as over the *King*, and his *Pretensions*.

Lastly; if *Victory* gives *Title*, your *Masters* are gone too.

You fall now into a vein of *weighing Governments*: (your old Trade; and the very *Coffee-Boyes* have got the knack on't al most as well as you.)

As you order the Scales, the *Common-wealth* goes *Down* most usually, but now your great Civility gives *Us* the Better on't. FREE-COMMON-WEALTHS (as you will have it) *have been ever counted fittest, for CIVILL, VIRTUOUS, and Industrious Nations, &c.* believe *me* then, That Form's not Fit for *you*, and your *Adherents*.

MONARCHY, *Fittest* (as you hold it forth) to *curb* DEGENERATE, CORRUPT, IDLE, PROUD, LUXURIOUS *People*; *This*, does your businesse then.

Upon necessity yet at last, I find, a *Single Person* you'l vouchsafe to entertain; provided, *such a one as has best aided the People, and best merited against Tyranny.* (That's your *Caution*) this

must be one of those that turn'd the *Rump* out : for never was a more meritorious Service to the Nation.

Your next Page is a very Angry one. You'll have the *Parliament Ride the King*, you say, as well as *Bridle* him ; and you'll perswade the People that there's *Law* for't too. The Question's triviall ; to cut it short : *Rumps* are no Parliaments. But if they be so Sacred, as you argue them ; how bold are you that durst propose the finall *Abrogation*, and *extinction* of them ! (As in your *Ready way* you have, in *Terminis*, so often done.)

In the next place ; If as you idly seem to imagine, all our *Kings are created by Parliament, or Conquest*. What becomes of that *Maxime, Rex non moritur ?* and why doe you swear Allegiance to *Him* and his *Heirs* positively, if there be any *uncertainty* of his being admitted to the Crown ? [*In short, his Birth entitles him to the Sovereignty.*] I doe not delight my self in these contests, but I am willing to lay open your little Tricks to the People.

You urge next his *Coronation-Oath*, but Deceitfully, you make him by his Oath, accomptable to Act, (in Effect, according to the *Judgement* of the *People*, but he swears to Govern according to his *own* (neither does this suppose him at Liberty to Rule according to his *Will*.)

Once more ; You say, *That the Kings principall Oath was to maintain those Laws which the People SHOULD chuse.* (*Consuetudines quas Vulgus Ele-*

gerit). Reconcile *Consuetudines* (referring necessarily to what is *Past*) to *Elegerit*, in the Future *Tense*, and I have done.

FINIS.

*Printed by Hazell, Watson, and Vincy, Limited,
London and Aylesbury.*

A LETTER

FROM

The Right Honourable

FERDINANDO

Lord FAIRFAX,

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

ROBERT

Earle of ESSEX.

Relating his late prosperous successe

against the popish Army in the North, his
expelling them from their Workes, and forcing
them to raise their siege from before
the Towne of *Hull*.

Also certifying, how the Enemy have fled
to *Beverley*, and were forced to leave divers
pieces of Ordnance, much Powder and
Ammunition behind them.

Being upon the same day wherein the Earle of
Manchester obtained the victory neere *Horn-castle*
in *Lincolnshire*.

Printed by His Excellencies speciall direction.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Wright*, in the Old-baily.
Octob. 18. 1643.

*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50
large-paper copies.*



A Letter from the Right
Honourable, FERDINANDO
Lord *Fairfax*,
To his Excellency, ROBERT
Earle of *Essex*.

May it please your Excellency,

SINCE the last Account, I gave your Excellency a few daies since, of our condition at *Hull*, on the fifth of this instant Sir *John Meldram*, that gallant Gentleman is happily arrived here, with foure hundred men from the Earle of *Manchester*, and two hundred and fifty men are since come to me from Sir *William Constable*, but Sir *William* himselfe is not yet here. Some little service, I thanke God, we did on Monday morning last, what time the Enemy assaulted one of our outworkes, but was beaten backe with the losse of eleven or twelve men, and some Officers, without the losse of any of mine. Yesterday, being the eleventh of this instant, I thought fit to draw forth what strength I could well make, in a salley, to drive the Enemy from a new Worke that in the night

hee had encroacht very neere us, on the West side of the Towne, and it pleased God to give a blessing to the attempt. My men I devided into two bodies, under the command of Colonell *Lambart*, and Colonell *Rainborow*, Captaine of the Lyon, who brought some Sea men for our assistants, and all under the command in chiefe for that service of Sir *John Nieldram* ; whose valour and discretion with the other two Colonels throughout the whole action, I cannot mention without high commendation. About nine of the clocke by an assault two severall waies, the service begun ; for, the truth is, we could not take that early advantage that I desired for such an interprise : in a short time we gained one of their workes, and assaulted them in another ; and it was not long ere we were unhappily forc't to retreat and the enemy recovered all againe. But through the goodnesse of God my men were soone rallyed, their spirits recovered, and they suddenly reposses't of the last worke, beate them out of all the rest in that part, and got possession of one of their great Brasse demy Cannon. The Enemy thus fled, and the ground ours, we drew that great Gunne out of danger of their reprisall : About two houres after our possession of those workes, the enemy had drawne downe a full body of reserves of Horse, and Foot, from all their Quarters, their numbers we know not, but about 36 Colours some of our men could tell ; with these they opposed our tired men, and that in truth with excellent resolution, but it pleased God after two houres sharpe encounter, or thereabouts, they left the Field ; since

that we have drawne into the town their great Demi-Cannon, one Demi-Culverin, one Sacre, three Drakes, and one case of small Pieces, some Armes, and a Carriage of great Bullet, besides some Powder, which was made use of against them. This last night I finde they have drawne of the rest of their Ordnance from their other Workes, and so are like to be at some farther distance from us, though I am informed, they intend to keepe a Garrison at *Beverley*, and to raise some Works somewhat more remote from us, to keep us from being so active as they believe vve vould be, vvhen they cannot make us so passive as they would have us. However my Lord, vve heartily and thankfully acknowledge the powerfull & vvise hand of our God in all this, desire he should have the glory of all, and to send his providence still, as occasion shall be further offered : the event whereof your Excellency shall assurdly have an account of, vvith the first opportunity, by

My Lord,

Your Excellencies most

humble servant,

Kingston *super* Hull,
12 Octob. 1643.

FER. FAIRFAX.



Octob. 17. 1643.

I^T is his Excellencies pleasure this Letter be
forthwith printed.

JOHN BALDWIN, *Secretary*
to his Excellence.





HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—VII.

NEWS FROM
Dublin in Ireland.

RELATING HOW

Colonell Jones,

Governour of the said City,

With his Forces, fell upon the Rebels,

BEAT THE WHOLE ARMY,

killed many, some Prisoners taken, with
much of their provisions and forc'd
them to a flight.

~~~~~  
*In a Letter to a Member of the  
Honourable House of Commons.*

~~~~~  
L O N D O N,

Printed for *John Wright* at the Kings
Head in the Old Bayley. 1647.

*This Report is Limited to 200 small-type and 50
large-type pages.*



News from Dublin in Ireland.

IN my last of the third of this instant I certified you of Colonell *Jones*, the Governour of *Dublin's* taking the field with that small Party of 400 horse here garrisoned; a small Party considering the power of the enemy (now found to have been) 8000. foot, 2000. horse, and a multitude of others, *Owen Roe O Neale* (the Rebels Ulster Generall) was advanced into the heart of these our Garrisons (between us and Trim) and that within a few miles of this place, before the Governour received any intelligence of his moving.

On the third of November, the Governour advanced hence with 400. horse, and 50 Dragoons, and upon advertisement given of a party of the enemies being about Castle-knock (within three miles of Dublin) he made thither, and commanded one Captain *Orwey* (of his owne *Regiment*) with 60. commanded horse as a forlorn hope.

The Governour himself made a halt short of Castel-

knock, understanding that the whole body of the enemies horse and foot lay two miles off at the church of Mallehedard, whereupon he gave orders for returning back to Dublin those Carriages that were following him and that the foot in Dublin should forthwith march towards him, therein preparing for the enemy should he advance towards the City, or to attempt something on him if still quartering at Mallehedard.

At Castleknock aforefaid, there was a party of the enemies horse, and 60. foot sent thither for destroying that part of our quarters; upon sight of our forlorn hope then advancing the enemies horse fled, whom ours pursued up to their maine body at Mallehedard, having in the chase slain and taken 11. Whereupon, anothers party of horse and foot from the body of the enemy were drawn out whom Captain *O'wey*, with those few of our forlorn hope, charged and killed of them above 80. this in full view, and very nigh the whole Army of the Rebels; after which he faced them about one houre, untill it was found that the enemies foot had the while marched away towards Fingall, purposing that night to fire those quarters between Dublin and Dreggheda; which the enemies designs the Governour finding by some prisoners taken, he commanded back Captain *O'wey* with the forlorn hope, who returning towards Castle-knock aforefaid, met with those sixty foot of the enemies before mentioned, fleeing from another party of our horse, most of whom Captain *O'wey* put to the sword.

The Governour forthwith sent to Sir *Henry Titchburne*, (at Trim) for drawing up to him with the horse in the out-quarters, whose coming up to him he expected before he would engage upon so great a body of the Rebels horse and foot.

That night the Governour sent back to Dublin the foot, and having commanded 100. horse towards Feltram for securing the quarters towards the Sea side, and for observing the enemies motion, he himself with the rest of the horse returned back to Dublin, no provision being found neare him for his horse, the enemy having destroyed all.

Owen O Neale having the City on the right hand, marched to a place called Dubber, within three miles of Dublin, which he fired, having his head quarters at Kilshaghan, six miles Northward from Dublin; he that night by parties sent out, burnt all the corn about him, making very great spoyle.

Thursday, Novemb. 4. *Owen O Neale* marched to Brasyle (an house belonging to the Lord chief Baron *Bolton*, within Fingall, which he burned, having first from thence by parties sent out, burnt Carduffe (the Lord Chancellours house) and Luske, with what other mischief he could suddenly doe in that part of the country, our Garrison at Swords made good the Bawne there against the Rebels, whereby much Hay prepared for the Oxen of the Trayne was preserved.

This day the Governour again took the field, with his 400. horse (being his whole strength of horse hereabouts) drawing towards the enemy for cutting off

stragglers, of whom many were met withall, and for keeping in the Rebels, all that might be, from destroying the quarters, untill he should heare from Sir *Henry Titchburne*, which he hourly expected but all that day he heard nothing of him; that night the Governour quartered at *Donsinke*, within three miles from the enemy, who that night quartered at *Weganstowne*.

This day about 12 of the clock newes was brought to the Governour of Sir *Henry Titchburnes* coming up with Col. *Ponsonby*, Col. *Coots*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrongs* Regiments of Horfe, which with the Governours party made up a body of 1400 horfe: Whereupon the Governour forthwith about midnight sent orders to Dublin for the Foot to draw out, and with all speed to advance towards him, appointing the Rendezvouze the next morning at *Pierces Towne*, eight miles from Dublin, purposing by crossing the Countrey to stop *Owen O Neale* in his march back, being informed that he had been then at *Baldengan* towards the sea side, purposing to bend towards *Droghedah* quarters for spoyling thereabouts as elfewhere he had done.

But the Rebels having intelligence of the coming up of the Horse to the Governour, and of the marching of the Foot, he suddenly changed his course, marching back again by *Crixtowne*, *Kilbrewe*, and *Ratoth*, burning as he went. This he did betimes on Friday morning the fifth of this instant. Our Foot not being yet come up as was expected, the Governour with his Horfe following, the Enemy, coming up within a mile

of him, and sending out parties to engage the Enemy in some fort untill the coming up of our Foot; but the Rebels marched off as fast as they could, our men killing many of them, and from out their body took away some Cattell.

This night the Rebels made shew of quartering at a place called Clunmullin neere a bogge side, where the Governour had hope he might gain time of falling in upon him if his Foot had come up.

This night our Foot from Dublin, about 3000, came up to Pierces Towne, where had they come sooner, it was hoped, by the blessing of God, the Rebels power in Leinster had been quite broken.

The Governour had that night sent out severall parties to allarm the Enemy, thereby to ingage them untill he could with his Foot march up towards them; but the enemy having made shew of quartering that night at Clunmullen, riseth in the night, marching away with all the speed he could possible.

Saturday the sixth, the Governour followes him with Horse and Foot, sending out parties severall waies to stop him in his course, but the Rebels had that day not rested untill they had gotten over the black Ford beyond Clon-Curry into *Briminghams* Countrey, a place boggy and woody, and to them of great advantage.

The Governour hereupon leaving the Foot at Balfeham, 13 miles from Dublin, he the seventh followed the Enemy with the horse; but the Rebels marching all the night before, had betimes this morning recovered their former retiring place at Castle-

Jordan. This night the Governour came back to the Foot at Bulfegham, and the next day, having difmift his additionall Forces, he with the rest marched back to Dublin.

The Enemy loft 500 of their men, and in their great hafte caft off many of their Knapfacks and baggage whiche ours tooke up. It was not for the Governour to ingage his horfe, they not having a grayne of Oats, nor money, or Quarters, for eight weeks before, neither any thing elfe but what they gained by daily inroades upon the enemies quarters, whereby the horfe were fo worne out, that had not neceffity enforced, they had not been fit to appear in fervice, therefore was it not fafe to ingage them efpecially fevered from the foot, againft fo great a power of the Enemies horfe and Foot, wherein had there been eny mifcarriage, this city and Province had been undoubtedly loft, and the whole *Kingdome* endangered. And here I muft give you the Governours words to me difcourfing of this, That although he fhould have the fortune with his horfe alone, to have defeated the power of the enemies, yet he deferved to fuffer for hazarding fo lightly fo many and great intereffts, knowing the weakneffe of his horfe, but after the coming up of his foot he doubted not then to put all to a day, though the Rebels were many to one, and had done it, had it been poffible to overtake that cowardly and runaway Enemy. You have, Sir, in this the perfeft and moft diftinct account I can give of thefe particulars, wherein you have in fhort the

whole state of the party here, not to be kept together, wanting wherewithall so to keepe them, and being disperfed, as of necessity they must be for a subsistence, they or the Country lying open to spoile, before an Enemy entering almost our very gates, can be disputed with. Sir, it is there to put us into a condition whereby these evils may be prevented, and for enabling yours here to serve you as they earnestly desire. By Captaine *Pierce*, one of ours being prisoner with the Rebels at Kilkenny, returned hither on exchange, the Governour hath been given to understand that the common voyce at Kilkenny was, That Sir *Bryon O Neale*, here resident, is one serviceable to the Enemy in the way of intelligence, whereupon he is committed, the Governour expecting, I believe, directions thence for disposing of him. Pardon this great boldnesse of Sir
Your Most assured to serve you,

Dublin 10. Novemb.

1647.

H. C.

Novemb. 22 *Imprimatur Gilb. Mabbot.*

FINIS.



HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—XV.

TWO
Important State
Papers.



- I. Sir Walter Mildmay's Opinion
concerning the Keeping of the
Queen of Scots.
- II. A Letter from the Earl of
Leicester to the Earl of Sussex
concerning the Queen of Scots.

1569.



PRIVATELY PRINTED.
EDINBURGH.

1886.

*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50
large-paper copies.*



Sir Walter Mildmay's Opinion
concerning the keeping of the
Queen of Scots (October
26. 1569,) at Windsor
Castle.



The Question to be considered on, is,
Whether it be less perilous to the
Queen's Majesty, and the Realm, to
retain the Queen of of Scots in Eng-
land, or to return her home into Scot-
land?



IN which Question, these things are to be consider-
ed. On the one side, What Dangers are like to
follow if she be retained here ; and thereupon, if so
avoiding of them, it shall be thought good to return
her, then what Cautions and Provisions are necessary
to be had.

On the other side, are to be weighed the Dangers
like to follow if she be returned home ; and thereup-

on, if for eschewing of them, it shall be thought good to retain her here, then what Cautions and Provisions are in that Case necessary.

Dangers in retaining the Queen of Scots.

Her unquiet and aspiring Mind, never ceasing to practice with the Queen's Subjects. Her late practice of Marriage between the Duke of Norfolk and her, without the Queen's knowledge. The Faction of the Papists, and other Ambitious Folks, being ready and fit Instruments for her to work upon. The Commiseration that ever followeth such as be in misery, though their Deserts be never so great. Her cunning and sugred entertainments of all Men that come to her, whereby she gets both Credit and Intelligence. Her practice with the French and Spanish Ambassadors, being more near to her in England, than if she were in Scotland; and their continual solicitation of the Queen for her delivery, the denial whereof may breed War. The danger of her escaping out of Guard, whereof it is like enough she will give the Attempt. So as remaining here, she hath time and opportunity to practice and nourish Factions, by which she may work Confederacy, and therefore may follow Sedition and Tumult, which may bring peril to the Queen's Majesty and the State. Finally, it is said, That the Queen's Majesty, of her own disposition, hath no mind to retain her, but is much unquieted therewith, which is a thing greatly to be weighed.

Cautions if she be returned.

To deliver her into the Hands of the Regent, and the Lords now governing in Scotland, to be safely kept. That she meddle not with the State, nor make any alterations in the Government, or in the Religion. That by sufficient Hostages it may be provided, that neither Violence be used to her Person, nor that she be suffered to Govern again, but live privately, with such honourable Entertainment as is meet for the King of Scots Mother. That the League Offensive and Defensive, between France and Scotland, be never renewed. That a new and perpetual League be made between England and Scotland, whereby the Queen's Majesty may shew an open Maintenance and Allowance of the King's Authority and Estate, and of the present Government, so as the Scots may wholly depend on her. That the Regent, and the Lords of Scotland, do make no composition with the Scots Queen, neither suffer her to marry, without consent of the Queen's Majesty. That the Faults whereof she hath been accused, and her declining and delaying to Answer that Accusation, may be published to the World, the better to discourage her Factious Party, both here and in Scotland.

Dangers in returning Her.

The manner how to deliver her Home, with the Queen's Majesty's Honour and Safety, is very doubtful.

For if she be delivered in Guard, that came hither free, and at liberty, how will that stand with the Queen's Honour, and with the Requests of the French and Spanish Kings, that have continually solicited her free delivery, either into Scotland or France ; or if she die in Guard, either violently or naturally, her Majesty shall hardly escape slander. If, again, she be delivered home at Liberty, or if being in Guard she should escape, then these Perils may follow.

The suppressing of the present Government in Scotland, now depending upon the Queen's Majesty, and advancing of the contrary Faction depending upon the French. The alteration of Religion in Scotland. The renewing of the League, Offensive and Defensive, between France and Scotland, that hath so much troubled England. The renewing of her pretended claim to the Crown of this Realm. The likelihood of War to ensue between France, Scotland, and Us, and the bringing in of Strangers into that Realm to our annoyance, and great charge, as late experience hath shewed. The supportation that she is like to have of the French and Spanish Kings. And though Peace should continue between England and Scotland, yet infinite injuries will be offered by the Scots Queen's Ministers upon the Borders, which will turn to the great hurt of the Queen's Majesty's Subjects, or else to her greater Charges to redress them ; for the change of the Government in Scotland, will change the Justice which now is had, unto all Injury and

Unjustice. The likelyhood she will revoke the Ear Bothwell, now her Husband, though unlawful, as is said, a man of most evil and cruel Affection to this Realm, and to his own Countrymen: Or, if she should marry another that were a-like Enemy, the Peril must needs be great on either side.

And albeit to these Dangers may be generally said, That such Provision shall be made, by Capitulations with her, and by Hostages from the Regent, and the Lords of Scotland, as all these Perils shall be prevented.

To that may be answered.

That no Fact which she shall do here in England will hold, for she will alleage the same to be done in a Forreign Country, being restrained of Liberty. That there is great likelyhood of escape, wheresoever she be kept in Scotland; for her late escape there, sheweth, how she will leave no way unsought to atchieve it; and the Country being, as it is, greatly divided, and of nature marvellously Factious, she is the more like to bring it to pass. Or if the Regent, by any practice, should yield to a composition, or finding his Party weak, should give over his Regiment, Then what assurance have we, either of Amity or Religion. That the Regent may be induced to do this, appeareth by his late secret Treaty with the Duke of Norfolk, for her Marriage, without the Queen's Majesty's knowledg. And though the Regent should persevere constant, yet if he should be taken away directly, or indirectly, (the

like whereof is said, hath been attempted against him) then is all at large, and the Queen of Scots most like to be restored to her Estate, the Factions being so great in Scotland, as they are ; so as the Case is very tickle and dangerous to hang upon so small a Thread, as the Life of one Man, by whom it appeareth the whole at this present is contained.

And touching the Hostages, though that Assurance might be good to preserve her from Violence in Scotland, yet it may be doubted how the same will be sufficient to keep her from escaping or governing again, seeing, for her part, she will make little Conscience of the Hostages if she may prevail ; and the punishing of the Hostages will be a small satisfaction to the Queen's Majesty for the Troubles that may ensue. And for the doubt of her escape, or of Rebellion within this Realm, it may be said, That if she should not be well guarded, but should be left open to practice, then her Escape, and the other Perils, might be doubted of ; but if the Queen's Majesty hold a stricter hand over her, and put her under the Care of a fast and circumspect Man, all practice shall be cut from her, and the Queen's Majesty free from that Peril. And more safe it is for the Queen to keep the Bridle in her own Hand, to restrain the Scottish Queen, than in returning her home, to commit that trust to others, which by Death, composition, or abusing of one Person, may be disappointed.

And if she should, by any means, recover her Estate,

the doubt of Rebellion there is not taken away, but rather to be feared, if she have ability to her Will. And if she find strength, by her own or Forreign Friends, she is not far off to give Aid, upon a main Land, to such as will stir for her ; which, so long as she is here, they will forbear, lest it might bring most Peril to her self, being in the Queen's Hands. The like respect, no Doubt will move Forreign Princes to become Requesters, and not Threatners of her delivery.

And where it is said, That the Queen's Majesty cannot be quiet so long as she is here, but it may breed danger to her Majesty's Health. That is a matter greatly to be weighed, for it were better to adventure all, than her Majesty should inwardly conceive any thing to the danger of her Health. But as that is only known to such as have more inward Acquaintance with her Majesty's disposition, than is fit for some other to have. So again, it is to be thought, that her Majesty being wise, if the Perils like to follow, in returning her Home, were laid before her ; and if she find them greater than the other, she will be induced easily to change her Opinion, and thereby may follow to her Majesty's great satisfaction and quietness.

Cautions if she should be retained.

To remove her somewhat nearer the Court, at the least within one days Journey of London, whereby it shall be the more easie to understand of her Doings.

To deliver her in custody to such as be thought most sound in Religion and most void of practice.

To diminish her number, being now about forty Persons, to the one half, to make thereby the Queen's Charges the less, and to give her the fewer means of Intelligence.

To cut from her all Access, Letters and Messages, other than such as he that shall have the Charge shall think fit.

To signify to all Princes, the occasion of this streight Guard upon her, to be her late practice with the Duke of Norfolk, which hath given the Queen cause to doubt: further assuring them that she shall be used honourably, but kept safely from troubling the Queen's Majesty, or this State.

That she be retained here, until the Estate of Scotland be more settled, and the Estate of other Countries now in garboil be quieted, the Issue whereof is like to be seen in a Year or two.



A Letter Written by the Earl of Leicester,

TO THE

*Earl of Sussex, concerning the Queen of
Scots; taken from the first Draught
of it, written with his own hand.**



My good Lord, I received your Letter in the answer of mine ; and though I have not written sooner again to your Lordship, both according to your desire, and the necessity of our Cases at this time ; yet I doubt not but you are fully advertised of her Majesty's Pleasure otherwise. For my own part, I am glad your Lordship hath prospered so well in your Journey, and have Answered, in all Points, the good Opinion conceived of you.

And touching her Majesty's further Resolution, for these Causes, my Lord, I assure you, I know not well what to write. First, I see her Majesty willing and desirous, as Reason is, to work her own Security, and the quietness of her State, during her time, which I trust in God shall be far longer than we shall live to see end of. And herein, my Lord, there be sundry Minds, and among our selves, I must confess to your Lordship, we are not fully agreed which way is best

* Ex MSS. Evelyn.

to take. And to your Lordship, I know I may be bold, beside the Friendship I owe you, the Place you hold presently, doth require all the understanding that may be, to the furtherance of her Majesty's good Estate; wherefore I shall be the bolder even to let you know as much as I do, and how we rest among us.

Your Lordship doth consider, for the State of Scotland, her Majesty hath those two Persons, being divided, to deal with, the Queen of Scotland, lately by her Subjects deprived, and the young King her Son Crown'd and set up in her Place. Her Majesty, of these two, is to chuse, and of necessity must chuse which of them she will allow and accept, as the Person sufficient to hold the principal Place. And here groweth the Question in our Council to her Majesty, Which of these two are most fit for her to maintain and join in Amity with? To be plain with your Lordship, The most in number do altogether conceive her Majesty's best and surest way is, to maintain and continue the young King in this his Estate, and thereby to make her whole Party in Scotland, which by the settling of him, with the cause of Religion, is thought most easiest, most safest, and most probable for the perpetual quieting and benefit to her own Estate, and great assurance made of such a Party, and so small Charges thereby, as her Majesty may make account to have the like Authority, and assured Amity in Scotland, as heretofore she had in the time of the late Regent.

The Reasons against the other, are these shortly.

The Title that the Queen claimeth to this Crown : The overthrow of Religion in that Coutry : The impossibility of any assurance for the observing of any Pact or Agreement made between our Sovereign and her. These be Causes your Lordship sees sufficient to dissuade all Men from the contrary Opinion. And yet, my Lord, it cannot be denied, upon indifferent looking into the Matter on both sides, but the clearest is full enough of Difficulties. And then, my Lord, is the Matter disputable ; and yet I think verily, not for Argument-sake, but even for Duty and Conscience-sake, to find out Truth, and safest means for our Sovereign's best doing. And thus we differ. The first you have heard touching the young King.

On the other side this it is thought, and of these I must confess my self to your Lordship to be one : And God is my Judg, whether it be for any other respect in this World, but that I suppose, and verily believe it may prove best for her Majesty's own quietness during her time.

And here I must before open to your Lordship indeed her Majesty's true State she presently stands in ; which, though it may be granted the former Advice the better way, yet how hardly it layeth in her Power to go thorow withal, you shall easily judg. For it must be confessed, That by the taking into her

protection the King and the Faction, she must enter into a War for it : And as the least War being admitted, cannot be maintained without great Charge : so such a War may grow, France or Spain setting in foot, as may cause it to be an intollerable War. Then being a War, it must be Treasure that must maintain it. That she hath Treasure to continue any time in War, surely, my Lord, I cannot see it : And as your Lordship doth see the present Relief for Mony we trust upon, which either failing us, or it rising no more than I see it like to be, not able long to last ; Where is there further hope of help hereafter ? For my own part I see none. If it be so, then, my Lord, that her Majesty's present estate is such as I tell you, which I am sure is true ; How shall this Counsel stand with security, by taking a Party to enter into a War, when we are no way able to maintain it ; for if we enter into it once, and be driven, either for Lack, or any other way, to shrink, what is like to follow of the Matter, your Lordship can well consider ; the best is, we must be sorry for that we have done, and perchance seek to make a-mends, where we neither would nor should. This is touching the present State we stand in. Besides we are to remember what already we have done ; how many ways, even now together the Realm hath been universally burdened.

First, For the keeping of new bands, after the furnishing of Armour ; and therein how continually the Charge sooner hath grown than Subsidies payed.

And lastly, the marvellous charge in most Countries against the late Rebellion, with this Loan of Mony now on the neck of it. Whether this State doth require further cause of imposition, or no, I refer to your Lordship? And whether entring into a further Charge than her Majesty hath presently wherewithal to bear, it will force such a Matter or no, I refer to wiser to judg.

And now, my Lord, I will shew you such Reasons as move me to think as I do. In Worldly Causes, Men must be governed by Worldly Policies; and yet so to frame them, as God, the Author of all, be chiefly regarded. From him we have received Laws, under which all Mens Policies and Devices ought to be Subject; and through his Ordinance, the Princes on the Earth have Authority to give Laws; by which also, all Princes have the Obedience of the People. And though in some Points, I shall deal like a Worldly Man for my Prince, yet I hope I shall not forget that I am a Christian, nor my duty to God.

Our Question is this; Whether it be meeter for our Sovereign to maintain the young King of Scotland, and his Authority; or upon Composition, restore the Queen of Scots into her Kingdom again? To restore her simply, we are not of Opinion, for so I must confess a great over-sight, and doubt no better Success, than those that do Object most Perils thereby to ensue. But if there be any Assurances in this World to be given, or any Provision by Wordly Policy to be had,

then, my Lord, I do not see but Ways and Means may be used with the Queen of Scots, whereby her Majesty may be at quiet, and yet delivered of her present great Charge. It is granted and feared of all sides, that the Cause of any trouble or danger to her Majesty, is the Title the Queen of Scotland pretends to the Crown of this Realm. The Danger we fear should happen by her, is not for that she is Queen of Scotland, but that other the great Princes of Christendom do favour her so much, as in respect of her Religion, they will in all Causes assist her; and especially, by the colour of her Title, seem justly to aid and relieve her, and the more lawfully take her and her Causes into their Protection. Then is the Title granted to be the chief Cause of danger to our Sovereign. If it be so, Whether doth the setting up the Son in the Mothers Place, from whence his Title must be claimed, take away her Title in the Opinion of those Princes, or no, notwithstanding she remain Prisoner? It appeareth plainly, No; for there is continual Labour and means made, from the greatest Princes, our Neighbours, to the Queen's Majesty for restoring the Queen of Scotland to her Estate and Government, otherwise they protest open Relief and Aid for her. Then though her Majesty do maintain the young King in his present Estate, yet it appears that other Princes will do the contrary: And having any advantage, how far they will proceed, Men may suspect. And so we must conceive, that as long as this

difference shall continue, by the maintaining of these two, so long shall the same Cause remain, to the trouble and danger of the Queen's Majesty. And now to avoid this whilst she lives, What better Mean is there to take this Cause away, but by her own consent, to renounce and release all such Interest or Title as she claimeth, either presently or hereafter, during the Life of her Majesty, and the Heirs of her Body. Albeit, here may two Questions be moved.

First, Whether the Scots Queen will renounce her Title, or no ?

Secondly, If she will do so, What Assurance may she give for the performance thereof ?

To the first, It is most certain she hath, and presently doth offer, wholly and frankly, to release and renounce all manner of Claims and Titles, whatsoever they be, to the Crown of this Realm. during her Majesty's Life, and the Heirs of her Body.

And for the Second ; She doth likewise offer all manner of Security and Assurances that her Majesty can devise, and is in that Queen's possible Power to do, she excepteth none.

Then must we consider what may be Assurances, for here is the difficulty. For that objections be that Princes never hold Promises longer than for their own Commodity ; and what Security soever they put in, they may break if they will. All this may be granted ; but yet that we must grant also, that Princes do daily Treat and deal one with another ; and of necessity are

forced to trust to such Bonds and Assurances as they contract by. And as there is no such Surety to be had in Wordly Matters, but all are Subject to many Casualties ; yet we see such Devices made, even among Princes, as doth tie them to perform that, which if they might conveniently chuse, they would not. And in this Matter of the Queen of Scotland, since she doth offer both to leave the cause of the differences that lie between the Queen's Majesty and her ; and also to give all Surety that may be by our selves devised to observe the same ; I do not see but such means may be devised to tie her so strongly, as though she would break, yet I cannot find what advantage she shall get by it. For beside, that I would have her own simple Renunciation to be made by the most substantial Instrument that could be devised. The assent of some others should confirm the same also. Her own Parliaments at home should do the like with the full Authority of the whole Estates. They should deliver her Son, and such other principal Noblemen of her Realm for Hostages, as the Queen's Majesty should name. She should also put into her Majesty's Hands, some one piece or two of her Realm, and for such a time as should be thought meet by her Majesty, except Edinburgh. The Queens Majesty might also, by ratifying this by a Parliament here, make a Forfeiture, if the Queen of Scotland should any way, directly or indirectly, go about to infringe this Agreement, of all such

Titles and Claims that did remain in the Queen of Scotland, after her Majesty and her Issue, never to be capable of any Authority or Sovereignty within this Realm. These I would think to be sufficient Bonds to bind any Prince, specially no mightier than she is. And this much more would I have, that even as she shall be thus bound, for the relief of her Title to the Queen's Majesty and her Issue ; So shall she suffer the Religion received and established in Scotland already, to be confirmed and not altered. In like sort, the Amity between these two Realms, to be such, and so frankly united, as no other League with any Forreign Prince, should stand in force to break it. For I think verily, as the first is chiefest touching her Majesty's own Person, so do I judge the later, I mean, the confirmation of the Religion already there received, to be one of the assuredst and likeliest means to hold her Majesty a strong and continual Party in Scotland. The trial hereof hath been already sufficient when her Majesty had none other Interest at all, but only the maintenance of the True Religion, the same Cause remaining still the same affection in the same, Persons that do profess it, I trust, and it is like, will not change. And though the Scots Queen should now be settled in her Kingdom again, yet is she not like to be greater or better esteemed now than heretofore, when both her Authority was greater, and her good will ready to alter this Religion, but could not bring it to pass. No more is it like these further

Provisions being taken, she shall do it now. And the last Cause also is not without great hope of some good Success ; for as the oppression of Strangers heretofore had utterly wearied them of that Yoke, so hath this peaceable time, between them and us, made them know the Liberty of their own, and the Commodity of us their Neighbours.

This, my Lord, doth lead me to lean to this Opinion, finding thereby rather both more surety, and more quietness, for my Sovereign's present time, having, by the contrary, many occasions of trouble cut off, and the intolerable Charge eschewed, which I cannot find by any possible means, her Majesty able to sustain for any long time.

Thus hastily I am driven to end my long, cumbersome Letter to your Lordship, though very desirous to impart my mind herein to your Lordship.

F i n i s.



Four Historical Documents.



HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—XIV.

F U R

Curious Documents.



- I. A Letter from Katherine of Arragon, to Mary, her Daughter.*
- II. Anne Boleyn's last Letter to Henry VIII.*
- III. The Proclamation of Lady Jane Grey's Title to the Crown.*
- IV. A Letter from the Princess (afterwards Queen) Mary, to her Father (Henry VIII.) 1536.*



PRIVATELY PRINTED.
EDINBURGH.

1886.

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*This edition is limited to 200 small-paper copies,
and 50 large-paper copies.*



Four Curious Documents.



A Letter sent by Queen Katherine
of Arragon, to the Lady Mary
her Daughter.*



DAUGHTER, I heard such tidings this day, that I do perceive (if it be true) the time is near that Almighty God will provide for you, and I am very glad of it, for I trust that he doth handle you with a good Love ; I beseech you agree to his Pleasure with a merry Heart, and be you sure, that without fail he will not suffer you to perish, if you beware to offend him. I pray God, you good Daughter, to offer your self to him ; if any pangs come to you, shrive your self, first make your self clean ; take heed of his Commandments, and keep them as near as he will give you Grace to do, for then are you sure armed. And if this Lady do come to you, as it is spoken, if

* Ex. MSS. Norfolcianis in Col. Gresham.

she do bring you a Letter from the King, I am sure, in the self-same Letter, you shall be commanded what you shall do. Answer you with few words, obeying the King your Father in every thing, save only that you will not offend God, and lose your Soul, and go no further with Learning and Disputation in the Matter ; and wheresoever, and in whatsoever Company you shall come, obey the King's Commandments, speak few words, and meddle nothing. I will send you two Books in Latin, one shall be, *de Vita Christi*, with the Declaration of the Gospels ; and the other, the Epistles of St. Hierome, that he did write always to Paula and Eustochium, and in them trust you shall see good things. And sometimes, for your Recreation, use your Virginals, or Lute, if you have any. But one thing specially I desire you, for the love that you owe unto God and unto me, to keep your Heart with a chaste Mind, and your Body from all ill and wanton Company, nor thinking nor desiring any Husband, for Christ's Passion ; neither determine your self to any manner of living, until this troublesome time be past, for I dare make you sure, that you shall see a very good end, and better than you can desire. I would God, good Daughter, that you did know with how good a Heart I do write this Letter unto you : I never did one with a better, for I perceive very well, that God loveth you, I beseech him of his goodness to continue it : And if it shall fortune that you shall have no Body to be with you

of your Acquaintance, I think it best you keep your Keys your self, for whosoever it is, so shall be done as shall please them. And now you shall begin, and by likelihood I shall follow, I set not a rush by it, for when they have done the uttermost they can, then I am sure of the amendment. I pray you recommend me unto my good Lady of Salisbury, and pray her to have a good Heart, for we never come to the Kingdom of Heaven, but by troubles. Daughter whatsoever you become, take no pain to send to me, for I may I will send to you.

By your loving Mother,

Katherine the Queen.



Queen Anne Boleyn's last Letter to
King Henry.*



SIR,

YOUR Grace's displeasure, and my Imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a Truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed

* Cotton Libr. Otho C. 10.

Enemy. I no sooner received this Message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning ; and as if, as you say, confessing a Truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a Fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a Truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Ann Boleyn, with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented my self, if God, and your Grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget my self in my Exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find ; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that Fancy to some other Subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, Good your Grace let not any light Fancy, or bad counsel of mine Enemies, withdraw your Princely Favour from me ; neither let that Stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful Wife, and the Infant-Princess your Daughter : Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful Trial,

and let not my sworn Enemies sit as my Accusers and Judges ; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my Truth shall fear no open shame ; then shall you see, either mine innocey cleared, your suspicion and Conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the World stopped, or my Guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure ; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful Wife, but to follow your Affection, already settled, on that Party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose Name I could some good while since have pointed unto : your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness ; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine Enemies, the lustrument thereof ; and that he will not call you to strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his General Judgment-Seat, where both you and my self must shortly appear, and in whose Judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, That my self

may only bear the burthen of your Grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of those poor Gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait Imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the Name of Ann Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request ; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions. From my doleful Prison in the Tower this 6th of May.

Your most Loyal and ever

Faithful Wife,

Ann Boleyn.



The Proclamation of Lady Jane Gray's Title to the Crown.



JANE, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ in Earth the Supream Head. To all our most Loving, Faithful, and Obedient Subjects, and to every of them, Greeting. Whereas our most dear Cousin Edward the 6th, late King of England, France,

and Ireland, Defender of the Faith ; and in Earth, Supream Head, under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland ; by his Letters Patents, signed with his own Hand, and sealed with his Great Seal of England, bearing the date 21st day of June, in the seventh Year of his Reign ; in the presence of the most part of his Nobles, his Councillors, Judges, and divers other grave and sage Personages, for the profit and surety of the whole Realm, thereto assenting and subscribing their Names to the same, hath, by the same his Letter Patents, recited, That forasmuch as the Imperial Crown of this Realm, by an Act made in the 35th Year of the Reign of the late King, of worthy memory, King Henry the 8th, our Progenitor, and great Uncle, was, for lack of Issue of his Body, lawfully begotten ; and for lack of Issue of the Body of our said late Cousin King Edward the 6th, by the same Act, limited and appointed to remain to the Lady Mary his eldest Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten : And for default of such Issue, the Remainder thereof to the Lady Elizabeth, by the Name of the Lady Elizabeth his second Daughter, and the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten ; with such Conditions as should be limited and appointed by the said late King of worthy memory, King Henry the 8th, our Progenitor, our Great Uncle, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his last Will in writing, signed with his Hand. And forasmuch as the said Limitation of the Imperial Crown

of this Realm being limited, as is afore-said, to the said Lady Mary, and Lady Elizabeth, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the Marriage had, between the said late King, King Henry the 8th, our Progenitor, and Great Uncle, and the Lady Katherine, Mother to the said Lady Mary ; and also the Marriage had between the said late King, King Henry the 8th, our Progenitor, and Great Uncle, and the Lady Ann, Mother to the said Lady Elizabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone, by Sentences of Divorce, according to the Word of God, and the Ecclesiastical Laws ; and which said several Divorcements, have been severally ratified and confirmed by Authority of Parliament, and especially in the 28th Year of the Reign of King Henry the 8th, our said Progenitor, and Great Uncle, remaining in force, strength, and effect, whereby, as well the said Lady Mary, as also the said Lady Elizabeth, to all intents and purposes, are, and have been clearly disabled, to ask, claim, or challenge the said Imperial Crown, or any other of the Honours, Castles, Manours, Lordships, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, as Heir or Heirs to our said late Cousin King Edward the 6th, or as Heir or Heirs to any other Person or Persons whatsoever, as well for the Cause before rehearsed, as also for that the said Lady Mary, and Lady Elizabeth, were unto our said late Cousin but of the half Blood, and therefore by the Ancient Laws, Statutes, and Customs of this Realm, be not inherit-

able unto our said late Cousin, although they had been born in lawful Matrimony ; as indeed they were not, as by the said Sentences of Divorce, and the said Statute of the 28th Year of the Reign of King Henry the 8th, our said Progenitor and great Uncle, plainly appeareth. And forasmuch also, as it is to be thought, or at the least much to be doubted, that if the said Lady Mary, or Lady Elizabeth, should hereafter have, or enjoy the said Imperial Crown of this Realm, and should then happen to marry with any Stranger born out of this Realm, that then the said Stranger, having the Government and Imperial Crown in his Hands, would adhere and practice, not only to bring this Noble, Free Realm into the Tyranny and Servitude of the Bishops of Rome, but also to have the Laws and Customs of his or their own Native Country or Countries, to be practised and put into use within this Realm, rather than the Laws, Statutes, and Customs here of long time used ; whereupon the Title of inheritance, of all and singular the Subjects of this Realm do depend, to the peril of Conscience, and the utter subversion of the Common-Weal of this Realm: Whereupon our said late dear Cousin, weighing and considering within himself, which ways and means were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said Succession, in the said Imperial Crown, if it should please God to call our said late Cousin out of this transitory Life, having no Issue of his Body. And calling to his remembrance, that We, and the

Lady Katharine, and the Lady Mary, our Sisters (being the Daughters of the Lady Frances, our natural Mother, and then, and yet, Wife to our natural and most loving Father, Henry Duke of Suffolk ; and the Lady Margaret, Daughter of the Lady Elianor, then deceased, Sister to the said Lady Frances, and the late Wife of our Cousin Henry Earl of Cumberland) were very nigh of his Graces Blood, of the part of his Fathers side, our said Progenitor, and Great Uncle ; and being naturally born here, within the Realm. And for the good Opinion our said late Cousin had of our said Sisters and Cousin Margarets good Education, did therefore, upon good deliberation and advice herein had, and taken, by his said Letters Patents, declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself, our said late Cousin King Edward the Sixth, to decease, having no Issue of his Body lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and the Confines of the same, and his Title to the Crown of the Realm of France, and all and singular Honours, Castles, Prerogatives, Privileges, Preheminencies, and Authorities, Jurisdictions, Dominions, Possessions, and Hereditaments, to our said late Cousin K. Edward the Sixth, or the said Imperial Crown belonging, or in any wise appertaining should, for lack of such Issue of his Body, remain, come, and be to the eldest Son of the Body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in his Lifetime, and to the Heirs Males of the Body of such eldest Son lawfully begotten ; and so from Son

to Son, as he should be of vicinity of Birth of the Body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in our said late Cousins Life-time, and to the Heirs Male of the Body of every such Son lawfully begotten. And for default of such Son born into the World in his life-time, of the Body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten; and for lack of Heirs Males of every such son lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown, and all and singular other the Premises, should remain, come, and be to us, by the Name of the Lady Jane, eldest Daughter of the said Lady Frances, and to the Heirs Males of our Body lawfully begotten; and for lack of such Issue, then to the Lady Katherine, aforesaid, our said second Sister, and the Heirs Males of her Body lawfully begotten, with divers other Remainders, as by the same Letters Patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithence the making of our Letters Patents, that is to say, on Thursday, which was the 6th day of the instant Month of July, it hath pleased God to call unto his infinite Mercy, our said most dear and entirely beloved Cousin, Edward the Sixth, whose Soul God pardon; and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no Heirs of his Body begotten; and also there remaineth at this present time no Heirs lawfully begotten, of the Body of our said Progenitor, and Great Uncle, King Henry the Eighth; And forasmuch also as the said Lady Frances, our said Mother, had no Issue Male begotten of her Body, and born into the World, in the life-time of our said Cousin King

Edward the Sixth, so as the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises to the same belonging, or in any wife appertaining, now be, and remain to us, in our Actual and Royal Possession, by Authority of the said Letters Patents : We do therefore by these Presents signify, unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects, That like-as we for our part shall, by God's Grace, shew our Self a most gracious and benign Sovereign Queen and Lady to all our good Subjects, in all their just and lawful Suits and Causes; and to the uttermost of our Power, shall preserve and maintain God's most Holy Word, Christian Policy, and the good Laws, Customs, and Liberties of these our Realms and Dominions : so we mistrust not, but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all Times, and in all Cases, shew themselves unto Us, their natural Liege Queen and Lady, most faithful, loving, and obedient Subjects, according to their bounden Duties and Allegiance, whereby they shall please God, and do the things that shall tend to their own preservation and sureties ; willing and commanding all Men, of all Estates, Degrees, and Conditions, to see our Peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our Laws, as they tender our Favour, and will answer for the contrary at their extream Perils. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witness our Self, at our Tower of London, the tenth day of July, in the first Year of our Reign.

God save the Queen.

A Letter of Queen Mary to her
Father. Anno 1536.*



MOST humbly prostrate before the Feet of your most excellent Majesty, your most humble, faithful, and obedient Subject, which hath so extreamly offended your most gracious Highness, that mine heavy and fearful Heart dare not presume to call you Father, nor your Majesty hath any cause by my deserts, saving the benignity of your most blessed Nature, doth surmount all Evils, Offences, and Trespases, and is ever merciful and ready to accept the Penitent, calling for Grace in any convenient time. Having received, this Thursday at Night, certain Letters from Mr. Secretary, as well advising me to make my humble submission immediately to your Self; which because I durst not, without your gracious License, presume to do before, I lately sent unto him; as signifying that your most merciful Heart, and fatherly Pity, had granted me your Blessing, with condition, that I should persevere in that I had commenced and begun, and that I should not afterwards offend your Majesty by the denial or refusal of any such Articles and Commandments, as it may please your Highness to address unto me, for the

* Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 20.

perfect trial of my Heart and inward Affection, and for the perfect declaration of the bottom of my Heart and Stomach.

First, I acknowledge my self to have most unkindly and unnaturally offended your most excellent Highness, in that I have not submitted my self to your most just and vertuous Laws. And for mine Offences therein, which I must confess were in me a thousand fold more grievous than they could be in any other living Creature, I put my self wholly and entirely to your gracious Mercy, at whose hand I cannot receive that punishment for the same that I have deserved.

Secondly, To open mine heart to your Grace, in these things which I have heretefore refused to condescend unto, and have now written with mine own hand, sending the same to your Highness herewith, I shall never beseech your Grace to have pity and compassion of me, if ever you shall perceive that I shall privily or apertly vary or alter from one piece of that I have written and subscribed, or refuse to confirm, ratify, or declare the same, where your Majesty shall appoint me.

Thirdly, As I have, and shall, knowing your excellent Learning, Vertue, Wisdom, and Knowledge, put my Soul into your direction ; and by the same hath, and will in all things from henceforth direct my Conscience, so my Body I do wholly commit to your Mercy, and fatherly Pity, desiring no State, no Condition, nor no meaner degree of living, but such as

your Grace shall appoint me ; knowledging and confessing, That my State cannot be so vile, as either the extremity of Justice would appoint unto me, or as mine Offences have required or deserved.

And whatsoever your Grace shall command me to do, touching any of these points, either for things past, present, or to come, I shall as gladly do the same, as your Majesty shall command me. Most humbly therefore beseeching your Mercy, most gracious Sovereign Lord and Benign Father, to have pity and compassion of your miserable and sorrowful Child, and with the abundance of your inestimable Goodness, so to overcome mine Iniquity towards God, Your Grace, and Your whole Realm, as I may feel some sensible Token of Reconciliation, which, God is my Judg, I only desire, without other respect. To whom I shall pray daily for the preservation of Your Highness, with the Queens Grace, and that it may please him to send You Issue.

From Hunsdon, this Thursday, at eleven of the Clock at Night.

Your Graces most humble
and obedient Daughter
and Handmaid,
MARY.

THE END.

Printed by E. & G. Goldsmid, Edinburgh.



Visitation of Monasteries.





HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—XIII.

Instructions of
KING HENRY VIII.

FOR THE
GENERAL VISITATION
OF THE
MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES.

1538-39.



PRIVATELY PRINTED.
EDINBURGH.

1886.

Lc
Cn

*This edition is limited to 200 small-f
and 50 large-paper copies.*



Henry VIII.'s Instructions for the
General Visitation of the
Monasteries and
Hunneries.*



*Articuli Regiæ Inquisitionis, in Monasticam
vitam agentes, exponendi, et præcipue in
exemptos a jurisdictione Diocæsana, jam
tantum Regiæ Majestati et ejus juris-
dictioni subditos et subjectos, ac hujus
inclyti sui Regni Statutis et legibus,
nullisq; aliis penitus, obnoxios et astric-
tos.*

- I. **I**N *primis* ; Whether Divine Service be solemn-
ly sung, said, observed, and kept in this
Monastery, according to the Number and
the Abilities thereof, by Night and by Day,
in due time and hours ? and how many be
present commonly at Mattins, and other Service, and

* Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.

who be absent, and so accustomed to be, without cause or sickness?

2. *Item* ; How many Monks, Cannons Regulars, or Nuns, be within this Monastery, and how many there ought to be, and whether the number be compleat according to the Founder's Will, or the Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable custom of this House ; and whether the number be augmented or diminished now of late ?

3. *Item* ; Who were the first Founders of this House ?

Fundationem primam, secundam, tertiam, et quot-quot habent exhibeant.

4. *Item* ; Whether this House hath had any encrease of Lands given to it sithence the first Foundation thereof ? by whom ? how many ? and when ?

5. *Item* ; To what Sum of Money those Revenues and Rents of this House do extend and amount unto yearly ?

6. *Item* ; Whether this House was ever translated from one habit and order to another ? by whose Authority ? and for what Cause ?

Translationem exhibeant.

7. *Item* ; How the Lands and Possessions appertaining unto this Monastery, given by the first Founder, and all other Lands given sithence the first Foundation, were granted, given, and established, and so first brought to *Morte main* ? whether by the only

Authority of the Giver, or by the Authorization of the Prince for that time reigning, and by what tenour and form ye hold them ?

Donationem et Confirmationem exhibeant.

8. *Item* ; What evidence have you to shew for all and singular your Lands, Manors, Tenements, and other your Possessions Mortisate, and given unto you, and this your Monastery ?

9. *Item* ; Wherefore, for what Causes and Considerations ye were exempt from your Diocesan ? and what was your Suggestion and Motive at the obtaining of your said Exemption ?

Exemptionem exhibeant.

10. *Item* ; Whether ye have any private, peculiar, or local Statutes, Confirmations, Ordinances, or Rules, made only for the behoof, good order, and singular weal of this House, besides the Rules of your Profession ? and whether they were made either by your Founders before your Exemption, or by the good Fathers of this House, with the whole consent of the Brethren, being sithence your exemption : to what use they were made, and how ye observe them ?

Statuta illa localia, et alia quotquot habent, exhibeant.

11. *Item* ; By what way and form the Master of this House was elected and chosen ? And whether all the Brethren having, or ought to have by the Law, Statutes, or laudable custom of this House, Voices in

the Election, were present in the same Election, or lawfully called or cited to it ?

12. *Item* ; Whether any Persons Excommunicate, Suspended, or Interdicted, did give Voices in the same Election ?

13. *Item* ; Within what time after the Election was made and done, the Master of this House was confirmed ? and by whom ?

14. *Item* ; Whether unto the Confirmation, all that had Interest, or that would object against the same, were lawfully cited, monished, and called ?

Exhibeat Electionem, Confirmationem, et Titulum suæ Incumbentiæ.

15. *Item* ; What Rule the Master of this House, and other the Brethren, do profess ?

16. *Item* ; How many be Professed, and how many be Novices ; and whether the Novices have like Habit, or use to wear an Habit distinct from the Habit of the Brethren Professed ?

17. *Item* ; Whether ye do use to profess your Novices in due time, and within what time and space after they have taken the Habit upon them ?

18. *Item* ; Whether the Brethren of this House do know the Rule that they have professed, and whether they keep their Profession according to that their Rule, and Custom of this House ; and in especial, the three substantial and principal Vows, that is to say, Poverty, Charity, and Obedience ?

19. *Item* ; Whether any of the Brethren use any propriety of Mony, or of Plate, in their Chambers ; or of any other manner thing unaware of the Master, and without his knowledg and license, or by his sufferance and knowledg ? aud for what cause ?

20. *Item* ; Whether ye do keep Chastity, not using the company of any suspect Woman within this Monastery, or without ? And whether the Master, or any Brother of this House be suspected upon Incontinency, or defamed for that he is much conversant with Women ?

21. *Item* ; Whether Women useth and resorteth much to this Monastery by back-ways, or otherwise ? and whether they be accustomed, or at any time lodged within the Precinct thereof ?

22. *Item* ; Whether the Master, or any Brother of this House, useth to have any Boys or young Men laying with him ?

23. *Item* ; Whether the Brethren of this House keep their Obedience, being ready at their Master's Commandment, in all things honest, lawful, and reasonable ?

Sequuntur Regulæ Cœremoniales.

24. *Item* ; Whether ye do keep silence in the Church, Cloister, Frairie, and Dormitorie, at the hours and time specified in your Rule ?

25. *Item* ; Whether ye do keep Fasting and Abstinence, according to your Rules, Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable Customs of this House ?

26. *Item* ; Whether ye abstain from Flesh in time of *Adwent*, and other times declared and specified by the Law, Rules, and laudable Customs of this House?

27. *Item* ; Whether ye wear Shirts and Sheets of Woollen, or that ye have any Constitution, Ordinance, or Dispensation, granted or made to the contrary, by sufficient and lawful Authority?

Profitentes Regulam Benedicti quam arctissime tenentur ad prædicta Cærimonialia observanda.

28. *Item* ; Whether ye do sleep altogether in the *Dormitorie*, under one Roof, or not?

29. *Item* ; Whether ye have all separate Beds, or any one of you doth lay with an other?

30. *Item* ; Whether ye do keep the Frairy at Meals, so that two parts, or the least, the two part of the whole Covent be always there, unless the Master at every one time dispense with you to the contrary?

31. *Item* ; Whether ye do wear your Religious habit continually, and never leave it off when you go bed?

32. *Item* ; Whether every Brethren of this House have lightly departed hence, and hath gone to any other House of like Order and Profession, without special Letters and License of their Master.

33. *Item* ; Whether the Master and Brethren of this House have received and admitted any Brother of another House, without special License and Letters of his Master and Head?

34. *Item* ; Whether any of you, sithence the time of your Profession, hath gone out of this House to his Friends, or otherwise ?

35. *Item* ; How oftimes he did so, and how long at every time ye tarried forth ?

36. *Item* ; Whether ye had special license of your Master so to go forth, or not ?

37. *Item* ; Whether at every time of your being forth, ye changed or left off your habit, or every part thereof ?

38. *Item* ; Whether ye, or any of you be, or hath been, in manifest Apostasy, that is to say, Fugitives or Vagbonds ?

39. *Item* ; For what cause or occasion ye have so gone forth and been in Apostasy ? and whether the cause of your going forth was by reason of the great cruelty of your Master, or by his negligence, not calling you home to your Cloister ?

40. *Item* ; Whether ye be weekly shaven, and do not nourish or suffer your Hair to be long ? and whether ye wear your Apparel according to the Rule, not too excessive, not too exquisite ; and in like wise the trappo's of your Horses, and other your bearing Beasts ?

41. *Item* ; Whether the Master and Head of this House do use his Brethren charitably, without partiality, malice, envy, grudge, or displeasure more shewed to one than to another ?

42. *Item* ; Whether he do use his Disciplines, Cor-

rections, and Punishments upon his Brethren, with mercy, pity, and charity, without cruelty, rigorousness, and enormous hurt, no more favouring one than another?

43. *Item* ; Whether any Brother, or Religious Person of this House, be incorrigible ?

44. *Item* ; Whether the Master of this House do use his Brethren charitably when they be sick and diseased ? and whether in time of their sickness he do procure unto them Physicians, and all other necessities ?

45. *Item* ; Whether he make his Accompts (as he ought to do) once every year before his Brethren, and chiefly the Seniors and Officers, to the intent they may be made privy to the state and condition of the House, and know perfectly the due administration thereof ?

46. *Item* ; Whether the Prior, Subprior, Sellarar, Kitchener, Terrure, Sacristen, or any such-like Officer, having Administration of every manner Revenues of this House, do make his whole and true Accompt, according as he is bound to do, not applying any thing by him received to his own proper use or commodity ?

47. *Item* ; Whether any Religious Person of this House do bear, occupy, or exercise more Offices than one, for, and to his own singular commodity, advantage, or profit, by the partial dealing of the Master ?

48. *Item* ; Whether all and singular the Revenues and Profits of this House be converted and employed

to the behove and use thereof, and of the Brethren, and according to the Founder's mind and Giver ?

49. *Item* ; Whether the Master do make sufficient reparations upon his Monastery, as the Church and all other housing thereto adjoined, and also upon all other the Lands, Granges, Farms, and Tenements belonging to the same, and whether he suffer any dilapidation, decay, or ruine in any part of them ?

50. *Item* ; Whether there be any Inventory made of all and singular the Moveables, Goods, which from time to time have been, and yet be in this House, as of Jewels, Reliques, Ornaments, Vestiments, ready Mony, Plate, Bedding, with other Utensils ; also of Corn, Chattels, and other Commodities, to the intent the state and condition of this House may be always known ?

51. *Item* ; That ye express truly and sincerely the whole state and condition of this House, as in Mony, Plate, Cattel, Corn, and other Goods ?

52. *Item* ; Whether this Monastery be indebted ? to whom ? and for what cause ?

53. *Item* ; Whether any of the Lands be sold, or mortgaged ? and for what Sums ?

54. *Item* ; Whether any be lett to Farm by the Master of this House, for term of years, and for how many years ? and specially whether they be letten for small Sums, or for less Sums than they were wont to be letten for, to the intent to have great sums of ready Mony before hand ?

55. *Item* ; Whether he do enforce, compel, or constrain his Brethren, or any of them, to consent to the sealing of any Leases, Grants, Farm-Holds, Annuities, Corrodies, or any other Alienations ?

56. *Item* ; Whether the Plate and Jewels, or any part or parcel thereof, or of any other moveable Goods of this House be laid to pledg, sold, or alienated for a time, or for ever ? for what cause, and to whom ? or otherwise imbezled, or consumed ?

57. *Item* ; Whether the Master of this House be wont to give under his Seal of Office, or Covent-Seal, Farms, Corrodies, Annuities, or Offices, to his Kinsfolk, Alliances, Friends, or Acquaintance, for term of years, or otherwise, to the hurt, hindrance, damage, and impoverishment of this House ?

58. *Item* ; Whether he be wont to grant any Patent, or Covent-Seal, without the consent of his Brethren ?

59. *Item* ; Whether the Covent-Seal of this House be surely and safely kept under three Keys ; that is to say, one remaining and being in the custody of the Master, and the other two in the custody of two Seniors ?

60. *Item* ; Whether the Muniments and Evidences of the Lands, Rents, and Revenues of this House, be safely kept from Vermine and Moistness ?

61. *Item* ; Whether the Master do keep Hospitality according to the ability of his House, and in like manner as other Fathers hereof have done heretofore ?

62. *Item* ; Whether the Master of this House, in receiving any Novice, being of willing and toward mind to enter into Religion, hath demanded or received, or convented to receive any Mony, Rewards, or any other temporal Commodities of him so entering, or willing to enter, or of any other his Friends ? and whether for not promising, granting, or giving such Rewards or Gifts, any hath been repelled and not received ?

63. *Item* ; Whether the Novices, and other received into Religion, have a Perceptor and Master deputed unto them to teach them Grammar and good Letters ?

64. *Item* ; Whether any Seniour of this House be deputed to declare, inform, and instruct them their Rules, and whereunto they shall be bounden to observe and keep, after their Profession ?

65. *Item* ; Whether any of you have taken upon him the Habit and Profession of your Religion, chiefly for the intent, hope, or trust to be made Head and Master of this House ?

66. *Item* ; Whether the Master of this House, in giving any Advocation, Nomination, or Presentation, or Collation of any Parsonage, Vicarage, Chapel, or Benefice of the Patronage and Gift of this House, do take, or use to take any manner Pension, Portion, or other Commodity, or Gains ; or else doth make any Convention or Compaction, whereby any lucre may ensue to him in that behalf ?

67. *Item* ; Whether he do receive, or use to

receive, the Fruits and Revenues of every such Benefice vacant, or use to borrow any Mony of him to whom he intendeth to give such Benefice unto, expressly covenanting or intending, that he so obtaining the said Benefice, shall freely and clearly remit the said Mony so borrowed?

68. *Item*; What, and how many Benefices the Master of this House doth occupy and keep in his own hands?

69. *Item*; Whether the same Benefices be appropriate and united to this House by sufficient authority?

70. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House doth make distributions amongst the Parishoners of the Benefices appropriate, and doth keep and observe all and singular other Provisions and Ordinances specified and expressed in the Appropriations of the same Benefices?

Exhibeant omnes et singulas Appropriationes, una cum Ordinationibus et Dotationibus Vicariatuum.

71. *Item*; Whether he do promote unto such Benefices as be of his Gift, sufficient and able Persons in Learning, Manners, and Vertue?

72. *Item*; Whether any Brother of this House do serve any Parish-Church, being appropriate and united to the same, and how many Churches appropriate be so served?

73. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House

hath and possesseth any Benefice with Cure, or any other Dignity with his Abbey?

Si aliquod tale habet, Dispensationem exhibeat.

74. *Item* ; Whether the Master of this House at any time since he was first made Abbot, or Master, did know or believe that he was Suspended, or Excommunicate, either by the Law, or by any Judge ; and whether he knowing or supposing himself to be, did sing Mass in the mean time, and before he was absolved ?

In Visitatione Monialium ad Præmissa addantur hæc.

75. *Item* ; Whether this Monastery hath good and sufficient Enclosure, and whether the Doors and Windows be diligently kept shut, so that no man can have any entry into the same, or any part thereof, at inconvenient times ?

Propter quod necessarium erit Visitatori circumire Monasterium, ac videre et rimare dispositionem ædificiorum, et an sint aliqua loca pervia per quæ secrete intrari possit ; et una secum habeat Abbatissam cum duabus aut tribus senioribus Monialibus, a quibus tum interroget, an ostia Monasterii singulis quibusque noctibus sub clavibus clausa teneantur, et

*quæ earum Monialium senio confectarum,
vel an Abbas ipsa clavium custodiam tem-
pore nocturno habeant et teneant : nam
non est tutum clavium custodiam Junior-
ibus committere.*

76. *Item* ; Whether Strangers, both Men and Women, useth commonly to have communication with the Sisters of this House, without license of the Abbess or Prioress, specially in secret places, and in the absence of their Sisters ?

77. *Item* ; Whether any Sister of this House were possessed for any manner of compulsion of her Friends and Kinsfolks, or by the Abbess or Prioress ?

78. *Item* ; Whether any of the Sisters of this House useth to go forth any whither out of the Precinct thereof, without special license of their Abbess or Prioress ?

79. *Item* ; Whether any Sister doth use her Habit continually out of her Cell ?

80. *Item* ; Wherein every one of you occupieth herself, beside the time of Divine Service ?

81. *Item* ; Whether any Sister of this House hath any familiarity with Religious Men, Secular Priests, or Lay-Men, being not near of kin unto them ?

82. *Item* ; Whether any Sister of this House hath been taken and found with any such accustomedly so communing, and could not shew any reasonable cause why they so did ?

83. *Item* ; Whether any of you doth use to write any Letters of Love, or lascivious fashion to any Person, or receive any such, or have any privy Messengers coming and resorting unto you, or any of you, with Token or Gifts, from any manner secular Person or other ?

84. *Item* ; Whether any of you doth use to speak with any manner of Person, by night or by day, by Grates or back Windows, or other privy Places within this Monastery, without license of your Head ?

85. *Item* ; Whether the Confessor of this House be a discreet Man, of good learning, vertue and honest behaviour, of good name and fame, and whether he hath been always so taken ?

86. *Item* ; How oftimes in the year the Sisters of this House useth to be Confessed and Communicate ?

Restat pro Ecclesiis Collegiatis, Hospitalibus, Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, Parrochialibus, Ecclesiis, Episcopo, et Archiepiscopo, pro ordine Jerosolomitarum ?

Exhibeant omnia scripta, munimenta, Inventaria, Schedulas, quascunque, unde aliquid cognitionis eorum reformationi Monasteriorum, sive domorum utilitati, necessariæ explicari, aut quoquo modo colligi possit.



General Injunctions to be given on
the King's Highness's behalf,
in all Monastries and other
Houses, of whatsoever Order
or Religion they be.*



First ; That the Abbot, Prior, or President,
and all other Brethren of the Place that
is visited, shall faithfully, truly, and
heartily, keep and observe, and cause
teach, and procure to be kept and obser-
ved of other, as much as in them may lie, all and
singular Contents, as well in the other of the King's
Highness Succession, given heretofore by them, as in
a certain Profession lately sealed with the Common
Seal, and subscribed and Signed with their own
hands : Also that they shall observe and fulfil, by all
the means that they best may, the Statutes of this
Realm, made, or to be made, for the suppression and
taking away of the usurped and pretended Jurisdiction
of the Bishop of Rome within this Realm : and for
the assertion and confirmation of the Authority,
Jurisdiction, and Prerogative of our most noble Sove-
reign Lord the King, and his Successors ; and that
they shall diligently instruct their Juniors and Young-
ers, and all other committed to their Cure, That the

* Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.

King's Power is by the Laws of God most excellent of all under God in Earth ; and that we ought to obey him afore all other Powers, by God's Prescript ; and that the Bishop of Rome's Jurisdiction or Authority heretofore usurped, by no means is founded or established by Holy Scripture : but that the same, partly by the craft and deceit of the same Bishop of Rome, and by his evil and ambitious Canons and Decretals ; and partly by the toleration and permission of Princes, by little and little hath grown up ; and therefore now, of most right and equity, is taken away and clean expelled out of this Realm.

Also, that the Abbot, Prior, or President and Brethren, may be declared, by the King's Supream Power and Authority Ecclesiastical, to be absolved and loosed from all manner Obedience, Oath, and Profession by them heretofore perchance promised, or made, to the said Bishop of Rome, or to any other in his stead, or occupying his Authority ; or to any other Forreign Prince, or Person : And nevertheless let it be enjoined to them, that they shall not promise to give such Oath or Profession to any such Forreign Potentate hereafter. And if the Statutes of the said Order Religious, or Place, seem to bind them to Obedience, or Subjection, or any other Recognizance of Superiority to the said Bishop of Rome, or to any other Forreign Power, Potentate, Person, or Place, by any ways ; such Statutes, by the King's Graces Visitors, be utterly annihilate, broken, and declared

void and of none effect ; and that they be in no case bounden or obligate to the same, and such Statutes to be forthwith utterly put forth and abolished out of the Books, or Muniments of that Religion, Order or Place, by the President and his Brethren.

Also, that no Monk, or Brother of this Monastery, by any means go forth of the Precinct of the same.

Also, that Women of what state or degree soever they be, be utterly excluded from entring into the Limits or Circuit of this Monastery, or place, unless they first obtain license of the King's Highness, or his Visitor.

Also, that there be no entring into this Monastery but one, and that by the great fore-gate of the same, which diligently shall be watched and kept by some Porter specially appointed for that purpose, and shall be shut and opened by the same both day and night, at convenient and accustomed hours ; which Porter shall repel all manner Women from entrance into the said Monastery.

Also, that all and singular Brethren, and Monks of this Monastery, take their refectiions altogether in a place called the Misericorde, such days as they eat Flesh, and all other days in their Refectory ; and that at every Mess there sit four of them, not of duty demanding to them any certain, usual, or accustomed duty or portion of Meat as they were wont to do ; but that they be content with such Victuals as is set before them, and there take their Refectiions soberly,

without excess, with giving due thanks to God ; and that at every such Refection, some Chapter of the New Testament, or Old, by some of the said Brethren, be read and recited to the other, keeping silence, and giving audience to the same.

Also, that the Abbot and President do daily prepare one Table for himself and his Guests thither resorting, and that not over-sumptuous, and full of delicate and strange Dishes, but honestly furnished with common Meats ; At which Table, the said Abbot, or some Senior in his stead, shall sit to receive, and gently entertain the Strangers and the Guests.

Also, that none of the Brethren send any part of his Meat, or the leavings thereof to any Person, but that there be assigned an Almoner, which shall gather the Leavings, both of the Covent and Strangers Tables, after that the Servants of the House have had their convenient Refections, and distribute the same to poor People ; amongst whom special consideration be had of such, before other, as be Kinsfolk to any of the said Brethren, if they be of like power and debility as other be ; and also of those which endeavour themselves, with all their will and labour, to get their living with their hands, and yet cannot fully help themselves for their chargeable Household, and multitude of Children : yet let not them be so cherished, that they shall leave labour and fall to idleness ; with consideration also specially to be had of them, which by weakness of their Limbs and Body be so impotent

that they cannot labour ; and by no means let such Alms be given to valiant mighty and idle Beggars and Vagabonds, as commonly use to resort about such places ; which rather, as drove-Beasts and Mychers, should be driven away and compelled to labour, than in their idleness and lewdness, against the form of the King's Graces Statute in this behalf made, cherished, and maintained, to the great hindrance and damage of the Common-Weal.

Also, that all our Almes or Distributions due, or accustomed to be made, by reason of the Foundation, Statutes, or customes of this place, be made and given, as largely and as liberally as ever they were at any time heretofore.

Also, that the Abbot, Prior, or President, shall find Wood and Fewel sufficient to make Fire in the Refectory, from Allhallow-even to Good-Friday.

Also, that all the Brethren of this House, except the Abbot, and such as be sick, or evil at ease, and those that have fulfilled their Jubilee, lie together in the Dormitory, every one by himself, in several Beds.

Also, that no Brother, or Monk, of this House, have any Child or Boy laying, or privily accompanying with him, or otherwise haunting unto him, other than to help him to Mass.

Also, that the Brethren of this House, when they be sick, or evil at ease, be seen unto, and be kept in the Infirmary duly, as well for their sustenance of Meat and Drink, as for their good keeping.

Also, that the Abbot, or President, keep and find in some University, one or two of his Brothers, according to the Ability and Professions of this House ; which Brethren, after they be learned in good and holy Letters, when they return home, may instruct and teach their Brethren, and diligently preach the Word of God.

Also, that every day, by the space of one hour, a Lesson of Holy Scripture be kept in this Covent, to which all, under pain by this said President to be moderated, shall resort ; which President shall have Authority to dispense with them, that they, with a low and treatable voice, say their long hours, which were wont to be sung.

Also, that the Brethren of this House, after Divine Service done, read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or occupy themselves in some such like honest and laudable exercise.

Also, that all and every Brethren of this House shall observe the Rule, Statutes, and laudable Customs of this Religion, as far as they do agree with Holy Scripture and the Word of God. And that the Abbot, Prior, or President of this Monastery, every day shall expound to his Brethren, as plainly as may be, in English, a certain part of the Rule that they have professed, and apply the same always to the Doctrine of Christ, and not contrariwise ; and he shall teach them, that the said Rule, and other their Principles of Religion (so far as they be laudable) be taken out of Holy Scripture ; and he shall show them the

places from whence they were derived ; and that their Ceremonies, and other observances of Religion, be none other things than as the first Letters or Principles, and certain Introductions to true Christianity, or to observe an order in the Church. And that true Religion is not contained in Apparel, manner of going, shaven Heads, and such other marks ; nor in silence, fasting, up-rising in the night, singing, and such other kind of Ceremonies, but in cleanness of mind, pureness of living, Christ's Faith not feigned, and brotherly Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Verity : And that those above-said things were instituted and begun, that they being first exercised in these, in process of time might ascend to those as by certain steps, that is to say, to the chief point and end of Religion : and therefore let them be diligently exhorted, that they do not continually stick and surcease in such Ceremonies and Observances, as tho they had perfectly fulfilled the chief and outmost of the whole true Religion ; but that when they have once past such things, they endeavour themselves to higher things, and convert their minds from such external Matters, to more inward and deeper Considerations, as the Law of God and Christian Religion doth teach and show. And that they assure not themselves of any Reward or Commodity any wise, by reason of such Ceremonies and Observances, except they refer all such to Christ, and for his sake observe them ; and for that they might thereby the more

easily keep such things as he hath commanded, as well to them as to all Christian People.

Also, that the Abbot and President of this Place shall make a full and true reckoning and accompt of his Admioistration every year to his Brethren, as well of his Receipts as Expences; and that the said Accompt be written in a great Book remaining with the Covent.

Also, that the Abbot and President of this House shall make no waste of the Woods pertaining to this House, nor shall set out unadvisedly any Farmes or Reversions, without the consent of the more part of the Convent.

Also, that there be assigned a Book and a Register that may copy out into that Book all such Writings, word by word, as shall pass under the Convent-Seal of this House.

Also, that no man be suffered to profess or to wear the Habit of Religion in this House e're he be 24 years of Age compleat; And that they entice nor allure no Man with suasions and blandyments to take the Religion upon him.

Item, that they shall not shew no Reliques, or feigned Miracles, for encrease of Lucre, but that they exhort Pilgrims and Strangers to give that to the Poor, that they thought to offer to their Images or Reliques.

Also, that they shall suffer no Fairs, or Markets, to be kept or used within the limits of this House.

Also, that every Brother of this House that is, a Priest, shall every day in his Mass, pray for the most happy and most prosperous estate of our Sovereign Lord the King, and his most noble and lawful Wife Queen Ann.

Also, that if either the Master, or any Brother of this House, do infringe any of the said Injunctions, any of them shall denounce the same, or procure to be denounced, as soon as may be, to the King's Majesty, or to his Visitor General, or his Deputy. And the Abbott, or Master, shall minister spending Mony, and other Necessaries, for the way to him that shall so denounce.

Other Spiritual Injunctions may be added by the Visitor, as the place and nature of the Comperts shall require, after his discretion.

Reserving Power to give more Injunctions, and to examine and discuss the Comperts, to punish and reform them that be convict of any notable Crime, to search and try the Foundations, Charters, Donations, Appropriations and Maniments of the said Places; and to dispose all such Papistical Escripts as shall be there found, to the Right Honourable Mr. Thomas Cromwell General-Visitor to the King's said Highness, as shall seem most expedient to his high wisdom and discretion.

THE END.

